



The VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY

organ of the international brigades



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TOWARDS UNITED ACTION

Maurice Thorez, Secretary of the French Communist Party has received from Comrade Dimitroff, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the following telegram, dated the 26th to be transmitted to the representative of the Second International and to the Trade Union International.

"During the interview which took place on the 21st of June at Annemasse between the delegation of the Communist International and of the Socialist International, both groups have unanimously recognized that now more than ever, action in favor of Spain should be developed in common agreement whenever it may be possible, by all possible means and without useless friction. Both delegations also recognized that it was necessary to hold another meeting as soon as possible in order to study concrete measures of moral and material aid for the Spanish people. The taking of Bilbao by the armed forces of the German and Italian aggressors, as well as the threat of new aggressions on the part of the fascist provocateur, imperatively demands the speeding up of the carrying out of joint action by the international working class organizations.

The existence of different opinions within the Directorship of the Second International, as well as the announcement of the resignation of its President and Secretary, in our judgement should not prevent the international organizations of the proletariat working by common agreement in an histo-

rical moment of such gravity, in which is concerned the liberty of the Spanish people and the maintenance of world peace. And the more so when we know that at the joint meeting of the Socialist International and the Trade Union International of the 26th of June the proposal of the Spanish comrades was accepted without reserve.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International instructs its delegation to present, for common examination in the joint meeting of the Socialist and Trade Union Internationals, in the course of their interview with the delegates (of the C. I.) the following concrete proposals:

FIRST. That the international workers' organizations address

themselves simultaneously to the Parliaments and Governments of all non-fascist States; above all to the Governments of England, France, the United States and the Soviet Union, asking them that they jointly take urgent measures for the immediate withdrawal of the armed interventionist forces of Germany and Italy in Spain, for the lifting of the blockade of Republican Spain and the recognition of the international rights of the Spanish Government.

SECOND. That the international working class organizations at the same time address themselves to the League of Nations to demand the fulfilment of the League of Nations Pact against the fascist aggressors who have attacked Republican Spain.

THIRD. That the international working class organizations address themselves to the workers of all countries, exhorting them to do all in their power to prevent new aggressions of the interventionists in order to achieve the most rapid end possible to the criminal war against the Spanish People.

The Communist International Delegation is also charged to examine whatever proposals may be put forward by the Socialist and Trade Union Internationals with a view to joint and co-ordinated actions of the international workers' organizations for the defence of the Spanish people.

In the name of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

DIMITROFF
General Secretary."

This telegram has been sent by Comrade Thorez to the representative of the Socialist and Trade Unions Internationals, has also been sent to Ramón Lamóneda, Secretary of the Spanish Socialist Party, to José Díaz, Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, and to Felipe Pretel, Secretary of the U. G. T.

Madrid, The Grave Of Fascism

Eight months have passed since the Fascists were halted at the gates of Madrid. During those months the people of Madrid have become all too familiar with Fascist planes and artillery. They have learned the meaning of Fascist "totalitarian" war — the indiscriminate murder of women and children. They have taught the world a lesson of heroism and hope.

The Army of the Centre which held back the Fascists at Las Rozas, Jarama and Guadalajara, the Army which made the words "No pasarán" a heroic reality, has launched the offensive, broken the enemy front, and has held and improved its positions against a fierce counter-attack.

The taking of Brunete, Villanueva de la Cañada and other important positions is a turning point. If the offensive continues in the present circumstances the Fascists will not be able to remain in front of Madrid, and the day may be very near when Italian and German shells will have fallen in the city for the last time.

(Continued on page 3.)



Comrade Antonio Mije calls for unification of Socialist and Communist Parties.

THE FOURTH IN MADRID

Anna Louise Strong, the well known author of books on the Soviet Union and recently of one on Spain, and Francis Gorman visited the office of the "VOLUNTEER" on July 4th. Their greatest desire was to spend the Fourth with the comrades in the lines. Military reasons made it impossible. Francis Gorman, who attended the reception meeting of the Unified Socialist Youth of Madrid in honor of the Communist and Socialist International Youth Delegations to Spain, left a message we print here, to be delivered to the American Contingent "wherever they are".

Anna Louise Strong spoke over the Government Station E. A. R. to the United States.

We give here below some excerpts of her speech.

A few miles out of Madrid at the base which supplies transport to the forces around the city, several scores of American truck-drivers and mechanics began the celebration with a breakfast of ham and eggs. Ham... and eggs! I assure you that's a celebration in Madrid. Perhaps you will read of it in the Times tomorrow, for correspondents were there as guests. Later there was ice-cream and pop, and a speech on the meaning of Independence Day. Still later a base-ball game. But right in the middle of the game, with two men on bases and third at bat, the order came to ROLL... To get out the trucks for duty... So the base-ball game stopped while they did their bit in the war for Independence...

... In a village near Albacete several hundred Americans in training camp... I saw them celebrate last night... How they sang "Old Man River" and dozens of American songs mixed in with the Spanish "No Pasarán". Nearly a thousand Americans in the older battalions—the famous Lincoln, four months unrelieved in the front lines, and recently given a rest; and the newer George Washington... These celebrated more seriously, moving steadily up to face the foe. Seventy Americans in medical units, field hospitals, base hospitals...

...All of them know the meaning of Independence Day... They believe they know it better than the American Government knows it.

... Let me give you glimpses of

a few of these Americans in Spain. First a truck driver. Down in Alicante. He had a free Sunday, and it came during harvest, when hundreds of Spanish city people were volunteering their Sundays to help get in the crops. It is a

right to the land, and no landlords can prevent putting through useful irrigation works. In spite of the drain of war these peasants are better off than before!

... What are the chances of this battle. Let me mention a few



American Comrades in the reading room of the 1^o Regiment de Train.

bumper crop this year and the country-side is short handed, because so many farmer boys have gone to fight the invaders... so this American truck driver volunteered himself and the truck to carry workers of Alicante to the harvest fields.

Up, up they went, over the rough mountain roads for a couple of hours. "Till at last we came", he said, "to what seemed the rim of the world, and we came over the rim and there was a valley surrounded by mountains and in the valley seven villages. We dropped down to see one of them and the city folks organized in groups, with one old peasant to show each group. We cleaned up that field faster than it has ever been done before. Then at five o'clock we all stopped and went to a nearby village for a celebration. There they showed us a big reservoir which they were celebrating, newly built... It gave the valley better irrigation than they had ever had before. They had built it this year, right in war time... because now the people have the

things I note as I return after six months absence. I expected to find Spain exhausted by a year of warfare. I find instead that it is fuller of energy than a year ago. The Spaniards tell you they have just begun to fight: they are just getting properly prepared. And this is true... Six months ago they were confident of ultimate victory. Now they are more supremely confident. They are preparing for a war as long as may be needed to drive out all enemy invaders and their Spanish tools.

Economically the land is stronger also. Factories are working better, war supplies pour forth as they never did before... The farming of the country has increased its sown area by seven per cent and is reaping a bumper crop. The irrigation reservoir I mentioned is only one sample of public improvements being made right during the war... Education also is forging ahead even in war time, with 190 million pesetas more in this year's school budget than in last year.

... Something remarkable has

happened which the fascists did not foresee and which even the democratic countries do not yet appreciate... It is this: Hitler and Mussolini's tactics of sending ever increasing lots of fascist help, first war equipment, and later troops, has defeated its own end. Every wave of invading Italians caused an answering wave of Spanish volunteers to fight them. The painful goad of necessity compelled the Spanish people to build a new army and then to improve it and keep on improving.

NEWS IN BRIEF

June 29.—At the last French partial elections which took place Sunday, June 27, the Popular Front ballot won in every place, the Communist Party showing decided increase in votes obtained.

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June 30.—English newspaper men in Naples, were informed that they would no longer be allowed to visit the port.

According to fascist authorities, English reporters have been sending "lies" concerning the sailing of troops and shipping of war materials to Spain.

It is undoubtedly to avoid recurrence of such lies that they have been prohibited the approach to the true source of information.

★

July 1.—Operating from the River shore, Japanese artillery sunk a Soviet gun boat on the River Amur, off the island of Senuffa. Immediately after the "incident" the Japanese Ambassador visited Comrade Litvinof, to express the opinion that it was the view of the Japanese government that the river Amur, including the islands, was the frontier between the U. S. S. R. and Manchukuo.

The coincidence of the "incident" with the latest developments in European diplomacy around the question of "Non intervention" is quite transparent.

July 2.—U. S. Ambassador to Moscow, Joseph Davis, visited the Japanese Ambassador Shigemitsu and expressed his personal wish that the incident would remain localised and without further consequences.

Soviet authorities state that the U. S. S. R. boats which were at the scene of the sinking are not gun boats, but small cutters armed only with machine guns and small calibre artillery.

Madrid, the grove of fascism

(Continued from page one)

The fight has been a hard one. The Fascists, as well as ourselves, realise how much is at stake and have resisted and counter-attacked desperately. Our soldiers have had to fight against the rebel shock-troops, and have taken positions which the enemy had fortified for months.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF VICTORY

The successes we have gained have only been possible because of the courage and morale of our soldiers. Some of our best comrades have fallen. The road our Army is travelling today is a difficult one, but it leads to great victories.

It is not an exaggeration to say

Thanks to Soviet diplomacy, which refuses to accept provocation, an incident quite evidently meant to create a major diplomatic disturbance, and perhaps war, ended in a complete victory for the Soviet Union. Coming at a moment of tension such as this, and on the heels of a recrudescence of provocations by Germany and Italy, this victory is of importance that cannot be exaggerated.

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Lisbon 5.—According to the director of the Portuguese Radio Club in a radio speech to the nation, the Italo-German policy in Spain is not in agreement with

and had on board observers of the Control Commission.

Paris 5.—"Le Temps", French conservative paper, in an article entitled "An appeal to Reason" demands that both England and France demand the inviolability of the territorial rights of Spain and that Spain's interests in the Mediterranean be respected.

July 3.—The Manchukuo Soviet border incident is closed, with the exception of the request to Japan by Comrade Litvinof, for a payment of an indemnity for the losses suffered.

Martial Law Closes Plant in Johnstown

Harrisburg, PA.—Gov. George H. Earle announced tonight that solution of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation strike problem in Johnstown has been placed in the hands of President Roosevelt's steel mediation board. Earle announced also that martial law in Johnstown will not be lifted tonight or tomorrow although the steel corporation has complied with the Governor's orders to close its huge struck Cambria plant.

Bus Strike Ends With Five More Arrests

The strike of Liverpool busmen, which began on Saturday last against the speeding-up of time

schedules, ended this morning following a mass meeting of strikers, which lasted for four hours.

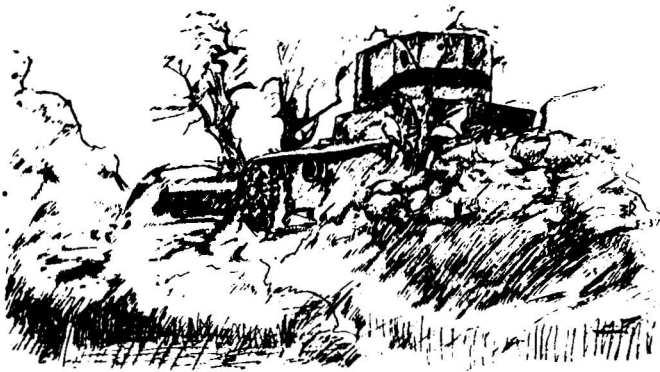
Through their strike committee the men were informed that negotiations would be opened on the men's complaints immediately a resumption of work took place. On this understanding the strikers voted by 188 to 119 in favour of a return to work today.

It is reported that while the Ribbles Motor Company is prepared to reinstate the strikers it is intended to fine each man 5s. for alleged breach of contract.

If this attitude is persisted in it will indicate that the company is approaching the question of negotiations in a very bad spirit and its actions will intensify bitterness not only among the Liverpool men, but at all centres of the Ribbles Services.

Children Make Archeological Find

A group of children playing in the yard of the school at Pyatnitsky village, near Tula, while digging in the ground discovered an iron gun weighing 70 kg. The gun dates from the beginning of the 17th century and it is presumed that it was captured from the Muscovite Tsar Vasili Shuisky by insurgent peasants and Cossacks. The find was turned over to the Tula Museum.



Straddling the trenches on the Spanish front, comrades of the 15th Brigade will recognise this.

that these few days may decide the future happiness of millions of people. But we can await the outcome with confidence.

The militia of the early days saved Spain. Now our new People's Army has proved that it can successfully undertake a large scale offensive. Our aviation, artillery and tanks have proved their worth. Our war material, the fighting spirit of our soldiers, the successful work of the Commissars, the ability of our military leaders, the intensification of work in the fields and factories, the growing unity behind the lines, the successes already gained by the Armies of Aragon and the South, and the possibilities which the Madrid offensive has given them — all these factors are the foundations of our victory.

With our People's Army, a government which is proving that it can lead us to success, and the strengthening of the unity of all Anti-Fascists in Spain, the way is being opened to the final decisive battles which will drive out the invader and inflict a smashing defeat on world Fascism.

Franco's view. Their assertiveness and large scale invasion has hurt the cause of Franco before what is now fascist Spain and the rest of Europe.

July 5.—The fascist pirate cruiser "Almirante Cervera" seized the French Steamship Company's freighter "Tregastel" off the Santander Coast.

The French coast guard boat "Vauquois" which had left immediately upon receiving the information for Santander returned to San Juan de Luz, after carrying out the order to scour the coast for the "Tregastel", with the information that the freighter was taken under guard of a rebel pirate ship into Bilbao harbor.

July 5.—The paper "L'Ami du Peuple" in an article commenting the seizure of the "Tregastel" states: The probabilities of peace depend on the energetic conduct of Paris and London.

"L'Humanité" says: For France to tolerate piratical actions by the rebels and their allies would be a monstrosity.

The "Tregastel" was en route to Santander to take on refugees



Comrades James Ford, Bob Minor, and Ralph Bates with the boys of the Regiment de Train.

A BUMPER CROP FOR 1937

Over 7,500 tons of seed 110 millions of pesetas, all kinds of technical help and advice, along with favorable weather are producing this year a bumper crop for Loyalist Spain.

The work of the Minister of Agriculture in helping the Spanish peasantry has been remarkable, and has succeeded in offsetting quite completely whatever harm forced collectivisation, "expropriation" and pro-fascist propaganda tried to accomplish.

In a country like Spain, where agriculture was left for centuries very much to the mercy of the weather, of God and of the large land-owners, to see the government actively helping and even stimulating better ways in agriculture is something which has found immediate response among the workers in the fields.

Speaking on the subject of collectivisation in agriculture, Vincente Uribe, Minister for Agriculture recently said: "War must be won on all fronts, and since we have not won it as yet, it is premature to attempt dangerous experiments. Until now we had to face violence and oppression by elements which we must call 'Incontrollables'. These elements were not numerous, but they roamed through the countryside robbing the peasants.

"The Communist Party, which I represent in the Cabinet, told the peasants that they had a right to their crop and advised the peasants to resist the forced seizure

by any means found convenient. The advice of the Communist Party and the active help supplied to the peasants gave them new courage for work, and the result is a full and unusual crop."

6.500 Strike in Anthracite

TAMAQUA, Pa.—About 6,500 anthracite miners went on strike again today in the Panther Creek region in protest against pay cuts of "consideration miners".

The consideration miners, supported by the United Mine Workers of America, contended that their pay was being cut for one hour a day's work and as a result they were receiving no benefit under the new seven hour shift.

Consideration miners are those paid by the hour instead of by production, and work in less desirable parts of the diggings.

700 Kids March on Picket Line

Indian Harbor, Ind.—The children's picket line in the steel strike was a huge success on Saturday, with between 700 and 800 youngsters on the line, singing and shouting before the gates of Inland Steel first, and Youngstown Sheet and Tube later on.

In between, the children marched through two miles of the city's streets, letting John Q. Public know there was a steel strike on, and they were with the strikers.

3 Taxi Firms Agree To Poll On Union

NEW YORK.—Another victory was won by the Transport Workers Union, CIO, when representatives of three taxi fleets agreed to an election among their 10,000 workers for a collective bargaining agency. The understanding was reached after a short hearing before the City Industrial Relation Board.

The Sunshine-Radio System, Inc., employing approximately 6,000 men, was represented by Otto Gutfreund. The Atlas and Liberty Fleets, with a total of 4,000 men were represented by A. Rosenblatt and Bernard L. Gold. The latter fleets are in one association and for the purpose of the election will be considered one organization.

Metro Workers Are Active in Amateur Art Circles

Learning to play as well as to work, 2,000 subway builders are now members of amateur art circles maintained at subway shafts, according to Y. Teltelbaum, director of amateur art activities for Metrostroi (Metro Construction Trust).

Leading in this sphere of cultural activity is Shaft No. 75, located on Ploshchad Mayakovskovo, whose song ensemble, Ukrainian chorus and brass band hold an eminent place in Metrostroi's roster of able entertainers.

A self-taught chorus and orchestra that have won deserved praise at public appearances are those of Shaft No. 61 on lower Ulitsa Gorkovo. No paid instructors are engaged to direct these groups.

Tenants Flock into Detroit Renters Group

DETROIT, Mich.—More than 5,000 applications for membership have been received in a few weeks by the Renters and Consumers League. It has been reported by the United Auto Workers' Union.

Furray is chairman of the organization, which is sponsored by the United Auto Workers Union.

Hundreds of letters are being received at the newly-opened offices of the organization from victims of landlord racketeers who are taking advantage of an acute housing shortage by raising rents without limit.

London Dockers Return To Work

Yesterday the dock strike here for 16s. a day extended to the whole of the docks. Over 7,000 dockers were out by midday and all work was brought to a standstill.

The extension of the strike was effected by mass deputations of those already on strike to the different docks in the area.

At a mass meeting held last night the dockers decided to return to work pending the outcome of the National negotiations on the same claim which opened in London today.

All through the day both employers and trade union officials made strenuous efforts to secure a return to work. The employers were particularly anxious to discharge the perishable cargoes on some of the boats and to clear liners which were held up by the dispute.

A joint statement issued early in the morning, confirming the declaration made yesterday that the dispute was unofficial and urging the men to return, had no effect.

500 million rubles For Art Theater, Music

More than 500 million rubles have been appropriated this year by the Soviet Government for theater and cinema construction, organization and upkeep of orchestras and choruses, expenditures on art schools, and so on.

The U. R. S. S. will have 813 theaters by Jan. 1, 1938, as against 775 at the beginning of this year. Large theaters are to be opened in Novosibirsk, Smolensk, Ivanovo and Kirov, while the new premises for the Meyerhold Theater in Moscow will be completed. A new drama theater is to be built in Leningrad.

The number of cinemas in the Soviet Union will be increased during the current year by 3,000, bringing the total to 30,000. At present there is not a single district in the Soviet Union which has not its own permanent or traveling cinema. Seventy-five new films, as well as 15 children's and 10 popular scientific films, will be released this year.



Comrade Bates lecturing to the boys in the transport

THE INTERNAL CONDITIONS OF GERMANY

It is an obvious fact that necessity is what compels governments to commit desperate acts. The internal conditions of Italy and Germany are obviously desperate and no amount of fascist propaganda will ever convince the world of the contrary. How desperate the conditions of Germany are, for instance, one gathers from the following facts:

The "Frankfurter Zeitung" of June 21 publishes the following interesting little article:

MORE VEGETABLES-LESS MEAT

The reforms in the work corps and in the army.

Berlin, June 20.—In full agreement with the efforts being made by the Bureau of Public Health, which has always been in favor of greater use of potatoes and of vegetables in place of an exaggerated use of meat and fats, the work corps of the Reich has modified very satisfactorily its methods of feeding. According to the latest information supplied by a news agency, the army also is developing at present new methods of feeding. There also the results are exceedingly satisfactory.

At about the same time that this piece of information was published, Fascist Germany was trying its damndest to create an international incident by inventing the story of an attempted torpedoing of the cruiser "Leipzig".

Some people, unluckily believe that a nation cannot wage a war when the economic conditions are so desperately poor. We know that the contrary is the truth.

At this moment Germany is the prey of a great deception. Although the international market is quite favorable, she is not capable of maintaining a favorable balance with the outside world.

Because of poor crops in the last two years, the import of grain cut deeply into the export balance of Germany. The first two years of fascism saw the best crops Germany had seen in many years. Fascism was quick to take advantage of the situation and to claim full credit for what

was produced by an unusually favorable meteorological condition. The statistics of foreign grain stocks on hand will give a clearer

sipated and the money normally spent for grain purchase went for war preparations. And so now after cutting the bread rations and after the meatless days and the speeches by Göring on the necessity of cannon instead of butter we see a vegetarian army in the making.



WAR MAD

view of the real condition than any amount of writing.

April 1936. Wheat on hand, 1,231,700 tons.; White flour on hand, 141,100; Rye on hand, 896,100 tons.; Rye flour on hand, 65,600 tons.

By April 1937 the stocks had shrunk to.—Wheat, 649,500 tons.; Wheat flour, 70,100; Rye, 788,500; Rye Flour, 54,100.

But according to reliable information, German farmers in April of last year had some grain stocks still undelivered. This year the final delivery of grain was made long before April.

Because the good crops of the first two years were considered a permanent victory of fascism, and because the problem of grain production was thought solved, all reserves were allowed to be dis-

July 5.—A strongly worded letter, accusing the Nazis of sowing "the seed of hatred against Christianity" and referring to an attempt to murder Cardinal Faulhaber, Archbishop of Bavaria, has been sent to Hitler by the Bishop of Berlin, Count Preysing, on behalf of the German Episcopate.

Referring to the charges made in the Nazi Press of late in connection with the trials of priests for "immorality", the Bishop says: "If this flood of filth is to go on being poured over the whole of Germany, the damage ultimately done will be of immense proportions. I ask therefore that consideration should be shown for the welfare of the people and that the exploitation of such trials for propaganda purposes should be brought to an end."

More and better Creamery Products Foreseen under Third Five-Year Plan

Soviet butter under the Second Five-Year Plan established for itself on the European market the reputation of being among the world's best. One of the principal tasks of the Third Five-Year Plan is to give Soviet cheese a similar position and to raise the Central Administration of the Butter and Cheese Industry to a leading place in the Peoples Commissariat of the Food Industry of the USSR.

Discussing with the Moscow Daily News recently the perspectives of the Third Five-Year Plan, Ivan Pavlovich Strotin, head of the Central Administration of the Butter and Cheese Industry of the Soviet Union, said that the main prerequisites for fulfilling these tasks are reconstruction and total mechanization of old plants and complete liquidation of "handicraft production. Strotin emphasized the fact that he was referring only to products manufactured by enterprises of the Peoples' Commissariat of the Food Industry. "You must not forget", he said, "that the collective farms, numerous local enterprises and many cooperative organizations also sell butter, cheese and other milk products on the Soviet market".



A night lecture at the Auto Park.

TO THE BOYS OF THE LINCOLN, WASHINGTON, THE MACKENZIE- PAPINEAU BATTALIONS

July 5, 1937

and — if it has come up —

Dear comrades,

I was all set to come and see you, but I find you are, doing things much more important than seeing me... So I'm going to trail along with the Young Socialist-Communist Youth delegations, the Writers Congress, and other dull — and not so dull — non-combatants. Maybe later, when you folks have written a little more history, I shall come back to write it down, but by that time you will be chasing Franco so fast over the borders of Portugal and into the Atlantic that you will be even harder to reach than now.

I have been impressed in coming back after six months absence, with the progress that Spain has made... Both in a military sense and even economically... A bumper harvest, harvested in part with the aid of "Red Sundays"; factories now really producing munitions; education forging ahead...

Spain has a good chance of coming out of this war, not only victorious — of that there is no doubt — but also as a new, modern military power in Europe, a power that will be passionately anti-fascist... It is strange that England and France don't see this, and get her for ally while the getting is good... All revolutionary wars, all wars for independence, tend to leave after them a strong nation... Thus after the American War for independence, the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution... Thus will it be with Spain. And I don't need tell you boys how important it will be for all the anti-fascist forces of the world to have built up such an ally...

Spain is really the first action — or rather the second action — of that famous "final conflict" of which we all sing... Good luck to you in your share of it... I do not need to wish you good courage, for you all have that... I wish you coolness, good judgment, clear decision in the midst of what seems chaos, and quick, effective action to follow decision... For these — with the courage and conscious discipline you have already — will bring you through to a maximum success with minimum losses.

We are all very proud of you and are going to be prouder.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Akron Rubber Workers join steel pickers

AKRON, O. — Thousands of Akron Rubber Workers dodged around police barricades on main roads leading into Youngstown last night to join S.W.O.C. picket lines about the plants of the Republic Steel Co.

This mustering of the fighting strength of the rubber workers' international was the answer made here to the threat of Republic officials that struck plants in Youngstown would be opened at 7 o'clock this morning.

After a midnight mobilization of Akron CIO supporters at local union balls, an automobile caravan of 4,000 rubber workers swept over the main roads from Akron to Youngstown.

The main column was preceded by motorcycle scouts who reported police barricades and guided

the rubber workers over unguarded back roads to their objectives in the Youngstown strike areas.

A few hundred of the rubber workers were turned back by police at hastily erected barriers outside Youngstown. Forty were arrested and jailed on charges ranging from carrying "concealed weapons" to suspicion.

By 4:30 a. m. the rubber workers had massed by the thousands with striking steel workers before the gates of the Republic plants where Tom Girdler's "Back to Work" march had been scheduled.

3,000 textile workers out.

CLEVELAND, Ohio. — Nearly 3,000 workers of the Cleveland Worsted Mills of this city, and Rayenne, Ohio, came out on strike after attempts by the Textile Workers' Organizing Committee to reach an agreement with firm failed.

Connecticut Unions Speed Political Action

C. I. O. and A. F. of L. Locals, Farm and Church Groups Name State Committee for Labor's Non-Partisan League at New Haven.

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—Representatives of C. I. O. and A. F. of L. unions today joined together for independent political action with the formation of a state branch of Labor's Non-Partisan League in Connecticut. Representatives of nearly every union in the state were present.

Besides adopting numerous resolutions, the conference accepted in principle a constitution for the state organization, elected a state committee, and laid plans for future work.

Cio calls Labor "Holiday" at East St. Louis.

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill.—The CIO called a "labor holiday" involving the 3,000 employees of the Swift and Armour packing plants here yesterday.

The move was a step towards organizing the packing industry.

The American Front

This is taken from a letter received by a comrade in Spain from New York.

"Things are happening so fast here. The C. I. O. which was a strong breeze when you left has become a veritable cyclone. It has really engaged the masses. Even the most backward workers lie awake nights praying that the C. I. O. will come to their shops next. For instance the Irishman down stairs told me this morning he was itching for the C. I. O. to come and organize the building employees."

"Really if you read everything in the Worker from day to day you get sort of dizzy. We are marching forward at a tremendous pace. ... America is going to have a People's Front. America is going to have a large trade Union movement and in this movement we are going to be decisive..."

Motor products Closed by sit-down

DETROIT, Mich.—The Motor Products Corp. plant, a subsidiary of the Briggs Manufacturing Co., was closed by a sit-down yesterday when the company locked out its drivers. More than 3,500 workers are affected.

TO THE LINCOLN BATTALION: DEAR FELLOW-WORKERS:

I wanted very much to visit the Lincoln Battalion, but as you yourselves know, it was impossible. In the absence of a personal visit, however I want to send you a message.

To-day is a very apt time to send greetings to Americans fighting for the Independence of Spanish workers from international fascism. Our own Revolution 150 years ago was not dissimilar.

I am going home from my brief but fruitful trip to Spain determined to rally the whole American trade union movement behind the struggle in Spain.

The cause of the Spanish workers is the cause of democracy, and as much our concern as Spain's. You here have realized this. My duty is to see that the millions of other workers in America also realize it.

My thought are with you, and my warmest fraternal greetings to the Battalion.

FRANCIS GORMAN

President United Textile Workers of America.
Member North American Committee to aid Spanish Democracy.

July

LE VOLONTAIRE
LIBERTÉ



18 JULIO

TOWARDS ONE WORKERS PARTY

This week Comrade Thorez, leader of the French Communist Party addressed another appeal to the Second International for concrete decisions in the question of aid to the Spanish people. With considerable melancholy we have to admit that this is proof that the Socialist parties of Europe have not all yet realised that the historic moment for international solidarity has arrived, and with something of shame one must record that the objection within the Second International to working with the Comintern has come chiefly from the British Labour Party, which too evidently appears to be keeping step with Mr. Eden.

Within Spain, working class unity has made one more step forward this week with the presenting to the Executive Committee of the Spanish Workers' Socialist Party of the Communist Party's official proposal for the fusion of the two parties.

A CONCRETE PROGRAMME IS OUTLINED

In the preamble the Communist Party says that the joining of the two parties and the creation of one workers' party is absolutely essential to the winning of the war and the revolution, and to the safeguarding of the Popular Front, as also of the direction of the national economy. "Without this unification it is difficult to conceive the economic and social organisation of the New Spain."

This fusion should not be difficult, says José Diaz, because "there are no divergences of principle between the Parties. Both are inspired by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, whose best exponent and upholder today is Comrade Stalin; both regard as their historic mission the destruction of capitalist exploitation, of all exploitation and oppression of man by man, or of one nation by another; and the building of the Socialist (Communist) society without classes".

The first point of the programme deals with the army strengthening OF THE FIGHTING POWER OF THE POPULAR RE-

GULAR ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC.

This paragraph demands "the suppression of the Militia or of autonomous sectors of the front: better application of the decree on obligatory service: steady in-

crease of the number of well-trained, well-armed and well-disciplined reserves: energetic and methodical purge to cleanse the military apparatus of traitors, saboteurs and incapables; a fearless policy of promoting to high com-

mand of the leaders who have sprung from the people and have received their training in the fire of battle; supreme unified command... and practical and moral help to raise the prestige of the war commissars in their extremely responsible work".

On the question of war industry the programme says "it is necessary to ask the government to proceed immediately with the nationalisation and militarisation of all existing war industries as well as the creation of new ones, handing over of all arms in the rearguard, and a mass drive among the working class to increase the level of production. New roads are called for, as also the development of transport resources.

COMRADE GEORGE BROWN

To the comrades of the English Battalion

Comrades; it is not the most fitting that one man alone should write what he feels about the loss of our comrade. I have telegraphed to London for a biography of Comrade Brown, but so far it has not arrived. When it does it will be published in full.

George and I slept in the same room while he was stationed here in Madrid. I had never met him before, but we soon became good friends; those who have worked with him will know why. We used often to talk of political work. He always spoke humorously of his own work, but listening to his shrewd accounts and analyses, and feeling his sincerity and steady conviction, one could understand his great worth to the workers' movement.

There was an affectionate warmth in Comrade George Brown, combined with a hard and clear understanding that made him a splendid companion in work. Dry and mechanical formality had no place in our comrade, everything was living material, to be handled with sympathy and care. I never saw him treat a single problem as a mere matter of routine.

He was always anxious to return. I remember how Harry Pollitt, to the comrades of the Battalion. George and I rode down past the

North station in Madrid through the ruined outskirts of the city. That afternoon he told me again that he wanted to be back with you comrades. A day later he came excitedly to me, obviously very happy, and said he was indeed returning to you. We talked a long time on the stairs of this building, over an hour; he had a humorous remark about that also. The next day I was sent to Valencia. When I returned I heard of his death. Well, comrades, you knew him better than we did, but it was a very sad day for us.

The battle for liberty cannot be fought without losses. His was a very great loss. Comrade Lenin once said that for every Communist who falls a hundred will take his place. There will be, there must be someone who will later replace our comrade, because History has signalled us out for Victory. Nevertheless we mourn him as a grand fighter and as a man. Whoever follows him will have a fine example.

I said that it seemed wrong to me that I should write about Comrade Brown, because he was the Battalion's comrade. But I knew him, I knew his great worth and his fine manliness and that is why I have written.

RALPH BATES

COORDINATION OF ECONOMY AND IMPROVEMENT OF WORKING CONDITIONS

Here a centralisation of all planning is demanded, together with the municipalisation of public and urban services. Trade Unions and Workers cooperatives are to be represented on the National Board of Economy. Though the workers well understand that during war time it is difficult to carry out thorough going reforms yet these are necessary; the conditions of the workers must be rapidly improved.

An intensification of agricultural production must be worked for also. The soil must be guaranteed to those who work it, the peasant must be free to collectivise or not as he desires, financial, technical and commercial help must be given to the peasants, whether working individually or in freely formed collectives.

Other sections of this extremely interesting document deal with the right of certain areas of Spain to a great degree of independence. This, of course, refers to Catalonia, Biscaya and Galicia. Only on the basis of independence and mutual trust can a really united Spain come into existence. In another paragraph the Communist Party proposes that the policy of maintaining good relations with the loyal sections of the middle class shall be continued.

All this is presented to the Socialist party not as a cut and dried plan, but as material for discussion which conforms to the general line of the Party.

PRINCIPLES OF ORGANISATION

That the campaign for unity has gone for beyond the propaganda stage can be seen from this, that the proposals include a section dealing with the organisation of the future party. This is part of what is suggested, "democratic centralism and severe, voluntarily imposed discipline, right of criticism and discussion and duty of selfcriticism but, when a decision is taken on a question... the decision must be obligatory for everyone."

THE OPINION OF SOCIALISTS AND U. G. T. MEMBERS

The issue of Saturday of the U. G. T. organ "Claridad" is commenting of the problem of working class unity says.

"The struggle and work in common have created, between socialists and communists, a solidarity and an identity of aspiration and sacrifice, which today is expressed in the vehement desire for unity... we can better commemorate this first anniversary of the war by making closer the union which we have forged out in the trenches and which we have watered with our blood."

In headlines "Claridad" demands ONE SINGLE PARTY FOR THE PROLETARIAT. This is the spirit of unity which will bring us victory, this is the vision which every worker who values his own integrity has always had, this is our guarantee of a world that an honest man may be happy to live in. At this moment the thrilling words of Pasionaria are ringing out over the wireless from the great meeting which the two parties are holding today in Madrid. There are enemies of unity, even in Spain, but they will be powerless to hold back the tide. How long will the gentlemen of Transport house keep closed their eyes? The workers of Spain demand unity between the two Internationals. They are right, for they are the vanguard of the proletarian world.

THE PIG'S SNOUT IN SPANISH ECONOMY

The speech made by Hitler in Wuerzburg on June 27, in which he said that what Germany is after is the iron ore of the Basque provinces, only put before the eyes of the general public what in the international financial and industrial world had long been known.

The conquest of Spain's mineral wealth by Germany and Italy might have been carried out in a comparatively peaceful way had the fascist generals and "noblemen" been able to conquer the central government and submit Spain rapidly and decisively. Failing in that attempt, as we all know, the war "against the reds" as Hitler and Mussolini tried to call it at the beginning, was bound to take on more and more a decided form of economic conquest, unashamed and ruthless.

What agreements have been made between Italy and Germany concerning the partition of the spoils we do not know, but Spain possesses rich iron deposits in Spanish Morocco, and among other places, extremely rich deposits of high grade ore near Bilbao.

German heavy industry is notoriously short of iron ore under its own direct control. Since long ago the large manufacturers of the Rhineland and of Westphalia have been casting voracious eyes on Northern Spain.

Ferdinand Friedensburg in his book "Mineral deposits as factors of political and military power", printed in Stuttgart in 1936 says:

"The great and ever increasing activity of Germany in the field of international mining economy has as a goal, first of all the oil of Rumania, the iron ore production of France, Spain and Scandinavia and the conquest of lead and zinc ore in other parts of the world. (Spain is also rich in lead and zinc.)"

Krupp tried as long ago as 1924 to lay its hand on Spanish iron when, at the time of the notorious deal about the cannon shells percussion cap patents, Vickers gave Krupp the Basque iron mining and smelting plants "Fabrica Mie-

res, S. A." in exchange for the British patent rights. Krupp has also interests in the "Cronera Iron Co." of Bilbao, in the "Maquinista Terrestre y Maritima" of Barcelona and in several ship-building plants, chiefly in that of "Echevarrieta" of Cadiz.

It was on the 22d of January that the "Wirtschaftsdienst" (Economic Informations) of Hamburg rather dolefully stated that "The Spanish heavy industry centers, chiefly the iron ore region surrounding Bilbao and the coal mines of Asturias were not yet under Franco's control. Two weeks later, Mola started the offensive against Bilbao using for the action freshly arrived troops from Italy and Germany. The organ of Hjalmar Schacht at about the same time made a politico-military commentary on the necessity of conquering the Basque iron, which is the most frank statement yet made on the motives of Germany in this war. "The menace of the nationalist troops against the iron mineral region of Bilbao... touches the interests of Great Britain not only in what concerns the freedom of the seas... but also on what is by far the most delicate problem, which is the of iron ore supply to the British new armament program." The paper continues by saying that the absence of the iron ore would considerably embarrass the British program.

And so the strange game of hide and seek of the democratic countries for ever ready to duck the blows without taking a definite stand against the Fascist blackmailers goes on. The new proposal by Great Britain for a new form of control against Spain is one more evidence that the lesson has not yet been learned, and that fascist insolence may run wild for some time longer.

The interests of Great Britain are unquestionably in opposition to those of Germany and Italy, but the British Tories are still wavering between democratic Spain and a fascist assertion against the workers the world over. Hence the titubations...

News in brief

July 9.—Here is how "Pravda" comments on the visit of George Lansbury to Mussolini.

"In April this year Mr. Lansbury visited Hitler, taking upon himself the high mission of transforming the leader of German Fascism into "a peacemaker and genuine Christian"

"With this same aim Lansbury now goes to Rome. He intends to preach non-resistance to the Duce himself."

"Lansbury is, in essence, playing the role of advocate for the most die-hard aggressors, the most outspoken warmongers. His trip to Berlin was most advantageous for German diplomacy, which at that time found it profitable demagogically to demonstrate its pseudo peace-loving policy in order to receive an international loan.

FALLEN AGAIN

"Now Lansbury has fallen into the Fascist trap again. Mussolini, who is carrying on large-scale intervention in Spain, has nothing against coming out in irresponsible talk with this Labour leader as a picture of holiness, wishing only eternal peace and quiet in Europe.

"Undoubtedly Lansbury's visit of respect to the Fascists takes place not without the knowledge of certain circles in Britain, which constantly pursue the policy of helping the aggressors morally or materially."

July 10. — Juan March, the smuggling millionaire and business agent for the Spanish Fascist Rebels, is once more on his way to Rome.

More about him, the meaning of his trips and on the importance of the man can be gathered from the letter quoted here below and written by the former Spanish Minister Diego Hidalgo to a friend in Switzerland.

OWE ALL TO MARCH

"Without March all would have been lost some time ago. When one day we have the opportunity to talk to one another again, I

will explain to you how it is that the support we have received from Italy and Germany for our movement we owe entirely to March. You can take it from me that the Germans and Italians in Spain share this high opinion of him.

"From a friend like yourself I cannot conceal the truth. Franco, who is clever, would have done had success come quickly, as we hoped, but he is useless in a hard fight. He is not the stuff that leaders are made of; the consequence is that the "falangists" don't treat him seriously, and he inspires no confidence among the traditionalists, the monarchists, and even in militar circles.

"ONLY BRAIN"

"March, who is the real and only brain we have, is working to finish up as head of the state, or to become at least a representative leading figure, entitled to nominate a government based on real talent. The unfortunate part about it is that this talent shows no sign of putting in an appearance, unless it be in the person of March himself, which, you understand, is of course quite impossible".

SUBMIT TO ALL UNITS AND HOSPITALS

Comrades: In order to facilitate and render more efficient the expedition of mail, the following rules and regulations must be observed.

1) Your address is, as the following example:

Socorro Rojo, Plaza Altozano N... Albacete (España).

Your unit number will be given to you by the responsible comrade of the unit you join. No other address will do.

2) Outgoing addresses must be as follows.

John Doe, 245 W 45th St., New York, N. Y. (U. S. A.).

John Doe, 16 Gloucester Place, London, W. C. (England).

3) There shall not appear any return address, rubber stamp impressions; postage stamps or any wording, markings etc. that would indicate the original point of departure, for any correspondence.

There are only two countries Franco and Czechoslovakia, to which mail can be sent direct.

4) No officially headed paper or envelopes are to be used for private correspondence purposes.

5) Envelopes are not to be sealed.

6) No panoramic photographs or postcard views other than single buildings will be passed. All postcards must be enclosed in envelopes.

8) No report of deaths unless officially confirmed. Information to be obtained from political commissar.

9) No articles to the press whatever, will be passed, unless sanctioned by the Political Commissar of Unit or Brigade.

10) No names of towns or fronts must appear on heading or in body of letter. No strategic descriptions of military actions or battles allowed.

11) Packets of up to 500 grams can be conveniently forwarded both ways. In view of our past experiences it is indicated that it is necessary to register all packets and parcels, or letters with valuable objects enclosed.

12) All applications for leave of absence, or repatriation must be submitted through the regular channels indicated. Letters addressed otherwise will be returned.

13) Any letters or packages which do not conform to the above regulations will either be returned to the responsible comrade of Unit; or subjected to a delay of from three days to three weeks. We cannot hold up the mail of the comrades who are abiding by the rules.

14) No telegrams will be accepted, unless approved and signed for by the Political Commissar of the Base.

By order of the Government.

Base de las Brigadas Internacionales. Comisario politico.



Soviet pavilion monument at the Paris exhibition.

¡PASAREMOS!

"War", writes the great military theorist Von Clausewitz, "is the continuation of politics." The Madrid offensive of the People's Army is the clearest possible illustration of this principle. A year of scattered but tremendous initiatives of millions of Spaniards and the central line of the New People's Front Government have been aimed precisely toward this drive. In the days of the rebel advance on Madrid when the militias retreated helplessly before the modern planes and tanks of their international Fascist enemy, the Fifth Regiment toiled heroically to create regular troops. In the heroic November days new reserves of popular energy were tapped to save Madrid, and with these reserves and the Fifth Regiment as a base, the Defense Junta of Madrid forged the Army of the Center. Málaga had to fall, the battles of the Jarama take their toll, the Blackshirts suffer a tremendous defeat above Guadalupe, and the Spanish people change Cabinets before the Army of the Center could be duplicated on a national scale. It took one whole year to create a regular Army, establish compulsory military service, subject the Army to a single General Staff. The work is still not completed. The perfection of that Army, the purging of its commanding staff of militarists of doubtful loyalty or mediocre talent and replacing them by officers taken from the ranks and tested as to ability and to loyalty by a year of fire — these are continuous tasks. There is no point at which the improvement of that military weapon ends, and so in examining the results of the first major offensive of the Spanish people against the invading forces of Italy and Germany, we must bear in mind that this is the work of a part of our forces at a given degree of development. The experiences of the offensive itself sweep the People's Army inevitably on to higher levels.

The Madrid front was the logical choice for the offensive, but it was equally obvious that the rebels could not be driven away from the heroic capital simply by head on attacks against extremely well-fortified positions. To attack those positions from the rear, to penetrate the rebel lines and strike from left and right, was a natural approach to this problem

GIVEN AN ARMY OF SUFFICIENT MOBILITY AND A COORDINATION OF SUFFICIENT FLEXIBILITY to make it feasible. THE FIRST LESSON OF THE PRELIMINARY PHASE OF THE GREAT OFFENSIVE IS THAT THE PEOPLE'S ARMY IS A MOBILE BODY WITH AN EFFECTIVE CENTRAL COMMAND.

On the night of July 5th Government forces descended from the neighborhood of the Madrid-Escorial road (we may use Valdemorillo as a concrete point) and penetrated rapidly into Fascist territory west of Madrid and along the foothills of the Guadarramas. The first day's work was divided roughly as follows: The Fifth Army Corps took Brunete at 6 a. m. with little difficulty; the Eighteenth fought all day and until ten p. m. for well-fortified and stubbornly defended Villanueva de la Cañada.

In preparation for the offensive, guerrillero's had cut the rebel railway lines at some point or points between their Madrid Front and their supply bases, keeping them closed for over forty-eight hours. Government forces near Seseña initiated an attack north and eastward, embarrassing the rebel rear on the Jarama. A third supporting action was an attack along the Villaverde-Usera front, pushing the rebel front line on the Toledo Road back to kilometer seven.

All this was accompanied by tremendous air activities. Every rebel position in the whole central area was bombed and strafed mercilessly. A gasoline deposit at Navalcarnero went up in smoke on the first day. On anti-aircraft we broke even, bringing down and losing one plane (altho anti-aircraft brought down two planes outside the center area that same day). But in the air itself, especially in a fight over Navalcarnero, a week of air-victories was initiated: three Heinkels falling and two burning up. Other spoils of the day were eighty odd prisoners at Brunete, over one hundred at Villanueva, a battery of 10.5's and smaller booty. The rebel reply: a vicious shelling of Madrid at night!

7.7 The loyal line of penetration had at once to be widened and our troops moved very little south, concentrating on pushing

the Fascists back to East and West. The towns themselves resisted stubbornly and our glorious air fleet — the Spaniards say, "Glorious" and understand "aviation" — worked a twenty — four hour day. Two Fiats sandwiched a loyal bomber and filled it full of holes, but bomber and crew returned safely whereas one Fiat failed to return. Then over Madrid, while the whole population watched from the roofs, 20 of our cazas fought a huge Fascist fleet including a new type of two seater, the fastest plane yet seen here. Score: two Fiats down and we lost a biplane.

7.8 Our troops took the positions of Minguito, Romanillos, Los Llanos and the castle of Villafranca, but the towns of Quijorna, Villanueva del Pardillo, Villafranca, etc., resisted. An enemy counterattack at Usera failed. In the air, one Fiat down; one Junker damaged; one loyal bomber damaged, one dead, remainder of crew wounded.

7.9 at 11.30 a.m. Quijorna fell. Among the over 200 prisoners were many Moors from the French protectorate in Morocco. Our aviation spent this and succeeding days bombing aerodromes; definitely destroyed two planes in Granada. On the Burgos-Santander front thousands of Italians now replacing Moors and Fascists.

7.10 Whole company infantry waves white handkerchiefs south of Brunete when their captain out of action. Since Tuesday our anti-air guns have brot down five planes. German air-captain dies in our hospital. Fighting around Villanueva del Pardillo.

7.11 Villanueva del Pardillo surrenders. Over 600 prisoners behave as though they had escaped from bondage, cheering spontaneously all the way to Madrid.

7.12-7.30 The Glorious brings down 25 enemy planes in two days, while we lost five Three rebel chasers attack one bomber which brings down two of them before it falls; the pilot and bomber fell in Na man's land and got back to our lines although the bomber was severely wounded on the way. At 5 p.m. on 12th, a big air fight with 33 loyal chasers fighting six trimotors five bimotors and thirty cazas. Score: 1 Heinkel, 8 Fiats (three of latter in our lines). We lost a plane and one plane that went deep in rebel territory in the morning failed to

return. In Mallorca another Fiat down.

7pm On the 13th nine rebel cazas and two new type monoplanes were brooght down over Navalcarnero. Antiaircraft guns brought down another rebel plane, the pilot being taken prisoner. In addition our tiny "moscas" damaged a Junker and one chaser was seen wobbling.

The rebel line on the La Coruña sualties, plus over 1.200 prisoners, and have lost 100 square miles of road was cut at kilometer 16.5 (ten miles from Madrid toward El Escorial).

7.14 Seven Fiats down. Two loyal bombers lagged and were

answer pressure for pressure, attack for attack. The threat to Madrid from this side is weakened, and instead the Fascist forces move uneasily on the defensive. Loyal artillery can now pound the Campamento on the Navalcarnero Road from behind their fortifications. Supply difficulties for the rebels increase a hundredfold. In general, as the time draws near for the decisive battles that will free Madrid and Spain, rebel attack positions have become defensive ones that drain their resources. This is the result of the first phase of the offensive.

But if we bear in mind the preliminary question of army deve-

lopment with which we began this study, a far more important result of the offensive is seen. The ease and smoothness with which a small part of the People's Army — two Corps — executed this manoeuvre tell us the Army is ripening fast for the great drive to Seville. And one concrete fact stands out above all other from the results of the attack. the recruits who bore the brunt of the fighting proved themselves good soldiers. That is of incalculable importance, for it means that the still untapped reserves of Spanish manhood can now rapidly be absorbed at full military efficiency into the People's Army.



downed; fell in our lines but all four men. dead.

7.15 Rebels have now sent powerful reinforcements as manifested by the stubborn fight going on at Villafranca del Castillo where artillery is tremendous. Big dogfight over Madrid in which 32 our planes participate. Six Fiats down, one mosca which fell in our lines, pilot dead.

7.18 Results of first phase of offensive: Rebels have lost 35 planes; plus planes destroyed in aerodromes suffered over 4000 casualties.

Before the offensive the rebels maintained a pincers on Madrid. Now, behind the claw that goes from Las Rozas to University City, loyal forces stand ready to

POLAR EXPEDITION CHIEFS PROMISE SCIENTIFIC RESULTS

The aviators, which carried the Polar Expedition under the direction of Professor Otto Schmidt and his companions to the top of the world, are back in Moscow.

Next year the same aviators will go to the North Pole to take the scientists back to Moscow. Prof. Otto Schmidt, in a reception speech in Moscow promised that, "with the co-operation of the four which will remain at the Pole for a year the Polar Expedition will supply to science and mankind all

that the North Pole will be capable of giving."

Vodopianov, the pilot, belittled the dangers of the expedition. "Now that a power like the Soviet Union is behind polar explorers, the dangers that made previous expeditions extremely dangerous no longer are to be considered serious. Within a year, there is no doubt about it, we'll go back to the North Pole and fetch the four comrades back home."

ONE YEAR OF FASCIST INVASION

A YEAR OF TRAGEDY AND GLORIOUS ACHIEVEMENT

This week the Spanish people enter the second year of the war which has been forced on them by the treachery of a few traitor generals and corrupt political leaders of the type of the cowardly Gil Robles. This week they enter the second year of their magnificent struggle against the fascist invader, against Portugal Italy and Germany. This week the Spanish people concludes one year of resistance to the slow but murderous policy of Non Intervention weapon of the British imperialist classes. These are the three principal enemies of the Spanish people; there is yet another, the incomprehension of certain people who call themselves working class leaders. It will be useful briefly to survey the course events have taken.

From the very beginning one thing must be understood; before the rising of July of last year, before even the coming of the Popular Front government of February 1936 foreign fascism was plotting in Spain. This is no mere assertion based upon political probability, but a historical and documented certainty. When the German consulate was taken over in Barcelona masses of documents were discovered covering a period of several years. Among them were papers incriminating Spanish politicians of the extreme right. German business houses, German consulates and journalistic agencies were all systematically engaged in spying, corruption and propaganda in this country. Spanish right leaders were importing arms months before the Franco rebellion. Moreover an economic survey had been clandestinely made by German specialists. For what reason? Hitler's recent declaration that he has intervened in Spain because he needs metals for his war plans provides the answer. The economic occupation of Spain had been planned by the capitalists behind Hitler before the coming of the Popular Front government. The Spanish fascists who tried to overthrow that government were only the tools of foreign powers.

THE TECHNIQUE OF FASCIST IMPERIALISM

It was the Italian war against Abyssinia and the shameful betrayal of that member of the League of Nations by the leading members of the League, with the exception of the Soviet Union, that provided the German and Italian dictators with the model. By encouraging the Spanish fascist to revolt and stepping in to help them, they knew they could make open war on Spain without openly declaring it according to legal tradition. The Sanctions policy of the League of Nations in the case of Abyssinia told Hitler and Mussolini plainly enough that the rival imperialism of so-called democratic England would connive at the betrayal. This much must be understood; it is British imperialism which is responsible, not only for the policy of Non Intervention, but for the fact that Franco knew he could rely on the support of the enemies of his country.

THE POPULAR FRONT GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN

Faced with the reversal of most of the valuable reforms of the Republic of 1931 by the Right governments of the renegade Lerroux and the Catholic-C. E. D. A. machine-gunner-by proxy Gil Robles, the Spanish progressive parties in 1935 formed the People's Front, upon a basis of guaranteed support to a government of Left Republicans working with a modest liberal programme. (The P. O. U. M., later viciously to attempt to stab the People's government in the back, signed this treaty. Within two months of that government taking office the P. O. U. M. was denouncing it.) At the elections of February 1936 the People's Front was victorious, the tempo of the world attack of the fascists on democracy was at once enormously accelerated. The miscalculation in the fascist plans was enormous. The assumption had been that Spain would easily fall victim and that no one would

come to her aid. Both counts were utterly wrong.

Franco thought he would repeat the 1923 success of General Primo de Rivera, Hitler and Mussolini, expected Spain to be another Abyssinia. They were right enough about the part the League Of Nations was to play, but they had not reckoned upon the heroism of the Spanish people, the solidarity of masses of the world proletariat, and the honour and rectitude of two governments, those of Mexico and the Soviet Union.

THE FIRST PHASE OF THE WAR

Most comrades will remember that the first stage may be characterised as the Romantic stage. In this period the Spanish people attempted to defeat fascism with ill organised though heroic militia groups. The result was that faced by the disciplined army of traitor troops and Moorish mercenaries the Spanish people were heading for defeat. There is no need to repeat what was formerly said in the articles on the evolution of the army, it suffices to say that the vast problem facing Spain was how to achieve organisation and discipline; how to destroy the Black Legend. The legend of an invertebrate Spain. That evil tradition has been destroyed, that it ever existed was due to the tyranny of outlived classes of governors. This much the war has proved.

In the field of foreign affairs another huge problem was to be faced. While feverishly rearming and preparing for war the British imperialists forced upon the other European governments the policy cynically called Non Intervention. Under this policy even arms that had been bought before the war had begun were withheld from the Spanish government, by the British and French governments in particular. The latter government had long demanded that Spain purchase her arms in France. However, while other governments professed to be unconvinced, the Soviet government soon exposed

the perfidy of the fascist powers who from the very first had been liberally supplying the rebels with arms and technical help. In October the Russian workers government declared that it would not be bound by the Non Intervention Pact to any greater extent than certain other countries.

This event may be said to begin the second phase of the war. Out of the first violent and excited confusion a regular army was beginning to emerge, crystallising round the Fifth Regiment organised by the Communist Party. The confusion in governmental administration was also beginning to disappear. Before this date even the government of the Left Radical Party, to which Spain owes a tremendous debt, had invited the other parties of the Popular Front to help it form a new government. In the first week of September the Communist Party entered the government.

The important phenomena to understand are these, that the Spanish people had realised what its task was, had achieved a great measure of organisation at the very moment when it ceased to be isolated in the world, when a great power and that a workers' power called the fascist bluff, and when the first demonstration of proletarian solidarity arrived in Madrid: the First International Brigade.

The International Brigade, the first of which was under the Command of General Kleber (now in command of the 45th Division) arrived in time to help drive back the first fascist attack on the city, which began on the 7th of November. It was at University City that the First International, the 11th of the Peoples Army, put up one of the most magnificent performances that history has on record. It was the 11th and 12th brigades which bore the brunt of the University City fighting, when the news was received that a certain body of troops had been driven out of it. Dramatic and desperate fighting went on for days, often from room to room, until the fascists were definitely held.

THE GOVERNMENTS AIR FORCE ARRIVES

About November the Fourth the air raids on Madrid began to become very serious, it was at once evident that they followed the German plan of attempting to demoralise the civilian people. Crowds of working class folk in the Glorieta park were suddenly bombed and machine-gunned one Sunday afternoon. Night raids soon began so that the city by night began to look like a region of blast furnaces, a red glare overhanging it. However the head of the Junta de Defensa, General Miaja, announced that in this respect the Madrileños might shortly expect to see something interesting. A few days later, when German bombers were dropping over the city, a squadron of all-metal monoplanes roared over the house-tops and for the first time Madrid watched its aerial defenders chase the fascists out of the sky.

But once again the character of fascist aid to Franco changed.

SPAIN INVADED BY REGULAR IMPERIALIST TROOPS

In December and January Italian and German regiments began to arrive, later whole divisions, complete with staffs and equipment were found in action. While the numerical ratio of the I. B. has diminished as the Peoples Army grew, more and more has Franco been compelled to rely on foreign troops. With this new danger the Spanish Government as formerly constituted was hardly fit to cope. It had been composed of every important political sector of the Peoples Front, the anarcho-syndicalists of the FAI-CNT having entered in November, but there was no real unified cabinet programme.

Just as the National economy was a Jacob's coat of many-colored experiment, of different types of administration, so in a lesser degree the Governmental policy showed a marked dissimilarity of outlook between department and department. With the sudden increase of fascist help to Franco, and the Traitor's change of strategic plan represented by the flanking battles of the Jarama and Guadalajara fronts a real concentration of effort was needed.

In May 17th the present Negrin Government came into power. Recruiting at once was conducted at

a greatly sharpened tempo; the first problem to which the government had put its hand was that of creating the reserves which the nature of an offensive against the invaders made vital. At the same time the work of seriously organising the nation's economy was begun. And finally the first definite offensive was launched in July. This period, beginning with the months of January and February may be called the Realist Period., all illusion of easy victory had long since vanished instead, the Spanish people had become aware that not only its own independence was at stake, but that it was fighting the battle of world freedom. The Popular Revolution had reached its full consciousness. Defeat had become impossible.

In the outside world the coming of the Negrin government was accompanied by dramatic possibilities. The shelling of the open city of Almeria by the German warships engaged in "Control" lead to a crisis in the Policy of Non Intervention. The German and Italian Governments at once withdrew from the sub-committee of Control and demanded extravagant and altogether too fantastic a set of conditions for renewed cooperation. Nevertheless the fatuous Mr Eden, whom any novelist would reject as too obvious a caricature of a man, agreed. A few days later the German, dictator announced that the Leipzig had been marrowly missed by a "Red" torpedo and demanded joint action from Britain and France under the terms of the Four Power Pact which had emerged from the Almeria tragedy. To the astonishment of many, Eden refused.

Once again the British government set about trying to prop up the cretinoid dummy of Non Intervention, but the refusal by Germany and Italy of all feasible proposals and the final refusal by the fascist puppet Portugal of all control of her frontier put a momentary end to these efforts. On Tuesday July the 14th the French frontier was thrown open. An explanation must here be given; this ending of Control does not mean that the Spanish Government can exercise its legal right to purchase arms, say, in France. It means that supposing an American tourist in Perpignan woke up to find six tanks and an artillery battery amongst his baggage, plus legal documents, he could ship them across the border without interfe-

rence from the Garde Mobile. Actually the sale of arms to Spain is still forbidden by the Plymouth Committee. Again, removal of Control means that an innocent American tourist strolling round Beziers in search of old-fashioned beauty will not be put into prison in that interesting town, nor in Toulouse.

A NEW BASE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

This change certainly indicates that the section of the machinery of world war has reached a complete stage of development. Eden has announced that if a solution of the Control problem is not reached the British government will consider the policy of Non-Intervention to be at an end. In that case what will happen? Spain will be able to buy all the arms she needs, that much is certain, though there are difficulties which might remain. The Spanish army would obtain all the arms it needs, them. What would be the reply of International Fascism? Would Italy and Germany pour in fresh armies on an entirely new scale? And if so what would France do? Here are questions which no wise commentator would answer in a hasty fashion. So much depends on whether the fascist dictators are ready, in a strictly technical sense, for war. Again, Hitler and Mussolini may decide that diplomacy and the connivance of Eden could still aid them to adopt positions that would help them to wage war with greater chances of success.

However, it seems that there are no limits of hypocrisy to which Eden will not go. At present he is putting forward yet another version of Control in order to bring in Germany and Italy. He has proposed to grant belligerent rights to Franco. The French government has protested and there seems little chance of this proposal being accepted.

One thing is missing from this

brief survey of the war, the problem of international working class solidarity, that will be with in another article.

So much is clear, comrades, for every growth of strength inside Spain, the reactionary powers in Europe, give fresh aid to Franco. Viewed in this fashion, without rhetoric and without the utmost objectivity this much is mountain clear. The Spanish people and with them their helpers are fighting a world battle of peace versus war, and of progress towards a juster society.

BASHIKIRIA TO PRODUCE OIL IN LARGE AMOUNTS

The recent discovery of a new oil field near the village of Tui-masa, situated 180 kilometers west of Ufa, is again attracting attention to the oil resources of Bashkiria.

It has now been ascertained that the poor work of the Bashkirian oil industry is the result of wrecking. Trotskyite wreckers moved oil prospecting from the most effective stations to those of secondary importance, retarded for years the prospecting of rich oil fields, and equipped bore holes with poor quality boring tubes and tools.

Marked progress has already been noted at Bashkirian oil fields this year, after the removal of wreckers and the appointment of a new administrative personnel. Prospecting has been organized, main attention being focused on drilling in the areas adjoining the Ishymbaev Industrial district which is one of the largest at present. Six basic oil fields within a 10 kilometers Radius of Ishymbaev are to be drilled this year. Prospecting drilling is to be continued, a railway, an oil pipeline and an oil refinery are available. The sections can be completely mastered much faster than the remote districts which had been the aim of the wreckers.

NOTE

The lack of materials for making photo-engraving clichés has delayed the issuing of this number. Several of our articles call for maps and illustrations.

To this date the situation has not been relieved. We will publish the maps in a future number

THE VOLUNTEER'S MEDAL

The Commissariat of the International Brigades has decided to produce a medal for all the Volunteers, to be kept as a souvenir of the Spanish war of liberation.

Carmelo VICENT, Joaquín CORRAL, José ORTELLA and Manuel PASCUAL all members of the U. G. T. Artists Union have supplied the

models here illustrated. All of these models have value. We thank the comrade artists for their contributions; but to help us in the task of choosing from amongst the four the medal to be struck, we ask all comrades to indicate their choicest:

COMMISSARIAT OF THE I. B.—Calle VELAZQUEZ, 63.—MADRID

Me satisface haber contribuido con mi modesta aportación a este conmovedor proyecto-homenaje, por tratarse de la columna Internacional, de heroica gesta

Joaquín Corral

Para la Columna Internacional vanguardia y estímulo a la juventud del mundo.

Carmelo Vicent

N.º 1



N.º 2



N.º 3



N.º 4





The VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY

Organ of the international brigades ★

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AFTER THE SIERRA - WHAT?

When the "Nationalist" Army of Legionaires and Moors, supported by German and Italian artillery, aviation, and tanks; firing an abundance of machine-guns and bullets from the same countries and from reserve stocks of Portugal, elected to march on Madrid, it was obeying political rather than military impulses. It was more important to procure an unshakeable political position in Spain as a whole than to take the points of most military value. Madrid was the key, Madrid is the key, to life or death for Fascism.

It is not to be wondered that the Fascists fell into a panic when the People's Army, having come a long year's road from the pistol-armed groups of July 1936 launched an offensive designed to clear the Madrid front. They poured planes and guns, bombs and munitions out of their war reserves, into the Madrid front, on an unparalleled scale. A conservative foreign correspondent recently told the writer that, in his opinion, there were four hundred and fifty rebel planes in the center area alone, and not less than one thousand in Spain!

The concentration of planes and artillery, by far the greatest seen in this war, must surely have been calculated to produce a Brihuega in reverse, a rout of the Government forces that would let the rebels through the Sierra line prevail-

ing at the beginning of the offensive. It failed completely; the second phase of the Sierra campaign ended with the Government still in possession of most of the territory captured in the first phase.

On July 18 the Fascists took over the initiative from the Government with violent counterattacks at Villanueva del Pardillo, and on the 18th, Quijorna and Brunete. A whole

day of fighting along the line extending from above Quijorna to below Brunete, netted them nothing but one hill position. From July 17 to 24, however, the People's troops in unfortified positions endured the most intensive, unceasing artillery and air bombardment they had ever experienced. Government artillery, overworked in the first days of the campaign, could reply but fee-

bly to rebel batteries which were in good condition, because, more numerous, they could alternate and thus avoid overheating. The government planes, superior but outnumbered, devoted almost full time to bombardment of aerodromes and supply centers, thus contributing much to the earlier exhaustion of rebel air and artillery munitions. Every base in Spain that could possibly serve as a rebel support to attacks on the Sierra was bombed once or more. The terrorist nature of Fascist air activities, on the other hand, was crudely underlined during this period by attacks on sleeping villages far outside the war area.

ATTACK AND COUNTER-THRUST

At last terrific bombardment told on tired, thirsty, and poorly entrenched troops. On July 24 the rebels recaptured Brunete and it was necessary, once they were there, to withdraw the 18th Army Corps to the west bank of the Guadarrama River. The retreat answered to normal mechanisms. Here, a unit suffered losses so heavy that it was bound to retire. There a unit scarcely under fire yielded to panic. But on the whole it was simply a logical and minimum withdrawal from difficult positions, with food and water troubles, after nearly three weeks of exhausting



MODESTO, Commander of the 5th Army Corps.

Continued on page 2.

AFTER THE SIERRA-WHAT?

campaigning, under fire comparable to that of the major battles of the Great War. Not only did the Government forces withdraw in good order to form a new line, but they had strength to counterattack.

The 11th and 14th Divisions reentered Brunete and fought for it street by street. They were eventually forced to retire, but had gained valuable time for the general withdrawal. The People's Army dug in on a line roughly east and west about half-way between Brunete and Villanueva de la Canada, keeping all the towns they had taken with the exception of Brunete.

On the night of July 25 Carlos Castejón brought down the first plane ever destroyed in night combat. It was a Junkers with American motors. Anti-air guns blew up another, and two Fiat's were shot down in a fight. On the night of July 26, Rodriguez Mateu of the same night-flying squadron, duplicated the feat of Castejón. On July 27 the rebel counteroffensive had apparently burned out.

A COSTLY EFFORT

The tremendous concentration of Fascist war-materials on the Madrid front had enabled the rebels to halt the Government offensive and to counterattack. How costly an effort it was, we can begin to estimate once we realize that German-Italian war materials are not inexhaustible. The British military writer, Captain Liddell Hart, breaking through the haze of fantasy, measures air strength "in terms of first line aircraft which represents the number of machines actually in service with formed units". He gives Germany 1,200 such craft at the beginning of 1937 and perhaps 1,500 by the spring of the year. Italy, with another 1,500 needs about a third of her strength in Eritrea, Soma-

lia, Abyssinia, Libya and the Dodecanese. Thus two countries whose whole political line is that of preparation for and provocation of war, in a world situation where war is not too remote a possibility, placed very nearly a fifth of their best air forces on a single Spanish front to prevent disaster! When we reflect that trained personnel is a major time consumer for the building of front line air forces, we see that international Fascism is wasting away on the Madrid front.

REBELS LACK MEN

All observers agree that the Fascists had no infantry to follow up their terrific air and artillery preparation.—Here is the key to the second phase of the Sierra campaign, the rebel counterattack from July 18 to 26. In the first phase, the Government offensive (July 6-17) a number of strategic errors were made and various weaknesses of the People's Army revealed. However, in addition to demonstrating that the Army had attained a mobility and organization sufficient for all purposes, the offensive proved that the new recruits, incorporated in sound, well-officered units with good political guidance were good soldiers. It proved that the People's Army can, if need be, be built up to one million men. The counterattack revealed that the rebels have a chronic shortage of men.

The two phases and the two key factors combined to provide an epilogue to the campaign. A series of armed clashes broke out in rebel territory.

On the morning of July 29 a regular battle took place in Granada, during which the Clinical Hospital where Moors are barracked was heavily shelled. In Motril, thirty minutes of fighting took place on the beach. Rifles, machine-guns and hand-grenades were



employed. At Aguilar de Campo on the Santander front fifteen planes and a convoy of troops had to be sent to quiet a rebellion. A Ministry of Defense note reveals that at Motril and at Malaga, organized groups, "apparently formed by Communists" initiated attacks in the expectation of a Government drive in that direction.

RESERVES OF LOYAL ARMY

Not only have the rebels no manpower, but their only source is importation which aggravates the hostility of the population toward the Fascist regime. Eden may continue to abet the warmaking criminals, the Subcommittee may stay on vacation until autumn permitting Japan to make progress with her invasion of China, and Hitler and Mussolini to pour new troops and supplies into Spain. But the Spanish people with the aid

and solidarity of 180,000,000 Soviet citizens and of the workers and democrats of the whole world, has drawn the moral of the Sierra campaign and will know how to counter the new aggression.

The People's Front has reserves of power consisting of Spaniards IN REBEL AS WELL AS LOYAL TERRITORY. In loyal Spain, reserves of men must become reserves of soldiers by intensive training and technical equipment. The tremendous growth of Spanish war industry will speed this process. In rebel Spain, intensified guerrilla warfare, invented in Spain to drive out the Napoleonic invaders, will help drive out today's Fascist ones. To mobilize the people's reserves of manpower behind the rebel lines, the Government has the weapon of agitation and propaganda. There is the gun Hitler and Mussolini — and Eden — cannot match.

G. M.

EXCHANGED LOYAL AVIATORS DESCRIBE TORTURES IN THE FASCIST PRISONS

Recently, through the medium of the International Red Cross, seven fascist flyers who were brought down in loyal territory were exchanged for seven loyal aviators in rebel prisons. The latter were captured after having been brought down on rebel ground. The seven fascist aviators were all foreigners.

Two of the loyal aviators held prisoners upon arrival at Hendaya recounted to the Spanish consul of that town an extraordinary story giving eloquent proof of barefaced Italian and German intervention in Spain. Italy and Germany not only promote the organizations of their secret police, but also keep contact with fascist prisoners, to the extent of assisting them to escape loyal territory, they revealed.

These two pilots fell into the hands of the enemy on November 2, in the province of Segovia. First they were locked up in the Jesuit Convent of Salamanca until December 16, and were victims of unusually cruel treatment. Frequently they were beaten with a bull's pizzle lined with wire, in attempts to obtain from them statements concerning airdromes, materials of aviation, and other information that the fascists desired.

On March 16, escorted by agents of the Gestapo, they were transferred to Astorga, from where, always under the custody of the Nazi police, they continued to Vigo. In this port they were embarked several days later on the ship "Rolandse", of the Bremen shipping list. They arrived at Hamburg on March 31.

While crossing the canal of Mancha, the aviators threw sealed bottles in the water in which they had enclosed scribbled notes giving their names, relating some of the tortures to which they were subjected, and stating that they were being taken from Spain as prisoners.

In Hamburg they were incarcerated in the cellar of one

of the Gestapo prisons and were kept there for six days on a diet of only one chunk of black bread and a herring. Several of the others had simply one potato each.

From Hamburg they were taken by railroad to Berlin. Two or three kilometres before arriving at the Berlin station, one of the prisoners took advantage of the train slowing up and jumped it; but the police agents immediately stopped the train and recaptured him. All were all placed in a dungeon headed by the Berlin Gestapo, where they were held for three months, being subjected to atrocious cruelty, exceeding that inflicted on them in the Spanish prisons.

On June 15, they were taken from Berlin to Rome in a German trimotor. On this trip they flew over Vienna, observing how the German trimo-

tor pilots were taking many movie films of Austrian territory. In Rome they were placed in the prison of the Fort of Gaeta, which is full of Italian soldiers who refuse to come to Spain to fight against the Republic.

At the end of a month, on July 16, they were removed from Rome, also by air, to Pollensa in the island of Mallorca. Passing over Corcega, the Italians that piloted the ship took many photos, and in their conversations they expressed the desire and ultimate ambition of Italy to wrest this island from France. From Pollensa, also by air, they were taken to Ceuta; from Ceuta to Cadiz, continuing the trip then to the Franco Spanish frontier.

Another of the exchanged aviators who was taken prisoner to Mallorca on May 31, has

stated before the Spanish consul at Hendaya that when he was brought down from the air he was suffering from an explosive bullet wound, and made his way over the hills to the edge of the sea where he intended to swim to Menorca; but 16 Italian soldiers pursued and captured him.

Those in charge of him at Palma were the heads of fascist aviation of Baleares, under the command of an Italian Lieutenant Colonel, three other Italian officers and a German.

On June 26, he was removed to the Castle of Bellver, where there are 160 political prisoners, among whom figure the director of the hospital at Palma, Dr. Penaranda; the heads of the Police and Telegraph of the same capital, and five officials of the Carabineros. In another prison nearby are 600 political prisoners and 1,500 in a concentration camp. The figures of those who have already been executed in Mallorca are estimated at more than 5,000.

Among other information they revealed is that each week there arrive at Palma two or three Italian cistern boats loaded with gasoline; that the principal Mallorcan exports, such as oranges and almond kernel, are all sent to Italy. In Mallorca bread, potatoes and other food necessities are scarce.

On July 16, in a sea-plane, this comrade was taken by air to Ceuta, then to Cadiz, then to Seville by automobile; from Seville to the jail at San Sebastian.

A private offer was made to each exchanged aviator to the effect that when they were liberated and restored to loyalist forces, that if they came over to the fascist side with a loyalist airplane they would be rewarded 200,000 francs.

In view of all this testimony, given by our exchanged aviators regarding the maltreatment, the torture and the suffering they were compelled to undergo, it can proudly be said that none of the fascist aviators returned by us can honestly make similar accusations against the Republic.

REMEMBER THIS

I've heard you sobbing in the night
And know your tears are not for fright
But for the dead. Those Comrades lost
Who through this day have fought beside you all this

[way

Beneath the sun's half blinding heat,
Until they fell upon this wheat, beside these olive trees.
In all this hell sound and thirst,
The whining steel and blinding burst of bomb and shell;
They still came on.

With blistered feet and shoulders bent,
With vagrant thoughts that often went to home and

[peace

And we must weep. For Oliver and Jack we could not

[keep,

Nor can we get them back.
I cannot say that they've been torn
To some far place and there reborn to live again;
But mark you this — they still live on — as men.
For we must take the strength they leave
And to the goal they set must cleave
With ever greater unity —
"All men shall now be FREE".

I hear you sobbing in the night,
But in the day remember this
That we are they.

WILLIAM P. SMITH Jr.
Lincoln Battalion.

WITH PICKS AND SHOVELS

The New Valencia to Madrid Railroad

Last winter, when the fascist forces, taking advantage of the then weak Spanish Popular Army, succeeded in pushing across all of Western Spain as far as the gates of Madrid, and also in cutting the last



railroad line connecting Madrid with the Mediterranean Coast, they thought that their game was won. It was then that, quite hurriedly, the fascist governments of Berlin, Rome and Lisbon recognized Franco and the Burgos crowd as the official government of Spain.

Among the fascist well-wishers there was certainty that the fall of the whole Madrid zone into the hands of Franco was only a matter of time, of a very short time.

When in February and March last the fascist offensives in the Guadalajara and Jarama regions took place, their expectation was that the two attacking armies would meet somewhere south east of Madrid, causing, of course, the capitulation of the city.

Somehow their plans fell through.

Guadalajara, which was to be their speediest advancing area, turned into a major defeat. The Jarama was crossed at one point, but the advancing armies were stopped at the edge of the ridge which runs from a point south of Vaciámadrid to San Martín de las Vegas. Since then the fascists have not advanced one inch.

HIGHWAY UNDER FIRE

But Madrid had lost its rail communications with the sea coast, and the Valencia highway, while not in fascist hands, was under their fire. A long detour for all traffic was and still is necessary. Quick communications with Valencia and other Eastern points had to be

established. On April 24, that is, a little more than three months ago, a group of engineers met to discuss the possibilities of building a new railroad to Valencia. Today the railroad is almost ready for operation. If it is not yet ready it is not because of lack of ability or of organization. It is because the comparatively primitive economy under which monarchical Spain was living never produced, or even thought of producing, the means by which life can be made efficient and comfortable. The building of a railroad in Spain is a job comparable, without exaggeration, with that of building a railroad in

the 15th century. And within a fifteenth century economy not only a railroad is being built, but it is being built in record time.

Many problems will be solved through the construction of the line. Madrid, a city of a million people before the war, although a large number of inhabitants left during the tragic days of last November, is still a city of over a million. Refugees flocked in from many other points and took the place of those who had left. The feeding of the city, because of poor transportation facilities, was always a serious problem. And often during the worse days of shor-

tage, enemy agents of the fifth column worked hard, trying to create dissatisfaction. That the Madrilenos refused to listen to such suggestions and quite smilingly lived through the worse hardships imposed on them is a proof of their loyalty.

ROAD TO EASE TENSION

The railroad will ease the tension and satisfy many urgent needs. Another result will be that of transporting not only troops and food where they are needed, but also to carry men on leave. How many times men on leave, after



many months at the front, came to Madrid with permission for one or two weeks, and found it impossible to leave because of lack of transportation. There is also the problem of the evacuation of Madrid. How many times the authorities have urged the civilian population, especially the refugees from other parts of Spain, to leave this city for other centers less exposed to the



fascist rage? Until now, however this problem of evacuation remained a problem chiefly because of the lack of transportation. Now with the trains soon to arrive in Madrid they will be able to take their full load of refugees away from the ever present danger of bombardment.

"WORKING ON THE RAILROAD"

The railroad was started within a few days of the final meeting of last April. Hurdling all the red tape often paralyzing the best enterprises because of the ever-present bureaucracy, men were hired, tools and materials secured and the ground was broken.

We are used in the United States or in any industrial country to visualize a railroad construction as a long series of steamshovels, excavators, dinghy locomotives, trucks, tractors, machinery of all kinds working quite effortlessly under the guidance of comparatively few men. Nothing of the kind here. All along the long, long line, ten thousand men work from morning till night under the broiling sun, using as tools only picks and shovels. A few mechanical drills are the only mechanical help they have. And these drills are so few and precious that their care is a work of affection.

4,000 MEN HIRED

At the beginning of the work four thousand men were

hired. The work however, given the complete lack of mechanical equipment, called for a much greater number of workers. At least twenty thousand more were needed. To speed the work of construction the management conducted a recruiting campaign in Madrid and along the whole railroad zone, much more than 100 kilometers long, asking for volunteers for the road. The response was immediate and large. More than 30,000 workers answered the call and

would all have been taken immediately had not a great shortage of picks and shovels presented itself. No matter how urgent and important the railway is, there are fortification and trench and highway works which cannot be made to wait. So that while ties and rails are ready to be put to work, lack of tools, often lack of water, are delaying the work.

Nevertheless the work proceeds. The plans were for a completion of the whole gi-

RADIO SEVILLE

Are you listening? Radio Seville!
This is Quipeo de Llano barking,
bellowing, spitting,
braying on four legs.
Radio Seville! — "Ladies and gentlemen!
At the microphone: a savior of Spain.
Long live wine! Long live vomit!
Tonight I take Malaga;
Monday I took Jerez;
Tuesday, Montilla and Cazalla;
Wednesday, Chinchón; and Thursday
drunk. And in the morning
all the stables of Madrid, all the stalls
made soft by the over-piling of horseshit
shall give me a soft bed.
Oh, what a delight to sleep,
to have for a pillow
(in hiccupping distance)
two piles of alfalfa!
What an honor to go to the blacksmith
at the sign of the halter!
What a unique pleasure
to receive on my hoofs,
nailed with spikes,
the horseshoes that France
won by his venture in Africa!
Already my leins are straining,
already my rump is lifting,
already my ears are growing,
already my teeth are getting larger.
The cinch grows short for me,
the reins get out of control.
I gallop, gallop... on my way:
I shall be in Madrid tomorrow.
Let the colleges close
let the taverns open.
Down with universities
and institutes — down, down!
Let wine flow to meet
a liberator of Spain."
— Are you listening? Radio Seville!
The general of this military base,
a bleating fool,
Quipeo de Llano,
is signing off.

RAFAEL ALBERTI

LINCOLN BATTALION COMMISSAR

"Don't let 'em get Steve!"

This is the word that travels like a flash of lightning through the Lincoln - Washington Battalion lines before and during attack. Steve Nelson, Political Commissar of the Lincoln-Washington Battalion, tireless worker. At any minute of the night or day you can see him moving from trench to trench, always on the look-out for bad peepholes, poor sandbags, dangerous machine gun positions. Patiently explaining to groups of comrades news or the outside world and other fronts. Concerned with the opinion of every comrade in the battalion, whether it be a question of winning a battle or of buying a toothbrush. Steve epitomizes all that the Spanish Peoples' Army demands of a political commissar. In the attacks of July 6 to 9, when the Lincoln Battalion suffered a terrific loss of military leadership, Comrade Nelson without hesitation assumed command. Seventeen hours a day could be called a short day for Steve. Not a day passed without a visit from this indefatigable leader of men to brigade, machine-gun company, infantry, kitchen and armory, in addition to many bedside discussions with weary determined comrades. Now is not the time to tell in full the story of this comrade who is loved by his men. Suffice at this time to say of him: soldier, strategist, political leader and comrade.

gantic project in less than two months. If tools had not been diverted to other channels because of great emergencies, the 10,000 at work would have been joined by the 20,000 which are on the Union lists and ready to go to work.

The road will soon be finished. No date for its inauguration is set, but strenuous efforts are being made to rush it through. The road is called the Railroad of Victory. It is no exaggeration.

H. A.

THE PROBLEM IS "UNDER DISCUSSION"

A basis for discussion; the representatives must consult their Governments; the Sub-Committees will probably meet on Thursday; the Summer holidays—in short the labors of the Non-Intervention Committee, which would be ludicrous if there were not another side to the picture—the battlefield of Brunete and the hospitals of Madrid.

When Italy and Germany withdrew from the naval control they put forward certain demands: the recognition of Franco as a belligerent, the maintenance of control on land, and the suppression of the naval patrols. On July 9 this plan was rejected, though Grandi explained at some length that the soldiers of the Royal Italian Army could not be withdrawn from Spain because they were under the command of Franco. The British Government was entrusted with finding a compromise, and in due course Mr. Eden who has already produced so many questionable objects from his immaculate hat, presented the British proposals. In essence they granted the Fascist demands with two additions or amendments. The British Government suggested that the naval control should be replaced by observers in Spanish ports, and that the volunteers should be withdrawn.

This plan was proposed as a "basis for discussion", but those who made it could scarcely have imagined that it would provide more than a basis for disagreement.

It is a little difficult to steer a Non-Intervention Committee smoothly, when two of its members have seized the Canary Islands and are in effective control of Ceuta, Melilla and Mallorca, even though Mr. Eden can convince himself, in public at least, that they are neutral, in spite of Mussolini's declaration: "Italy is not neutral".

There are also one or two other discrepancies. Guns have been moved up to vantage points in the Pyrenees, and it is significant that they have some French towns within their range; and as that noto-

rious Bolshevik propagandist, Winston Churchill, pointed out on July 19, there are also guns in the neighbourhood of Algiers which seem to have some sort of relationship with Gibraltar. Germany has made a trade agreement with Franco to arrange for a supply of iron ore. Of course, we know that Germany needs iron badly to make boilers, tram-lines, etc.; nevertheless it is a little compromising. But Mr. Eden has proved equal to the task. The main object has been achieved. Everyone seems agreed that the discussion on the British proposals is likely to last a month or two. A "basis for discussion" is a fine thing for gaining time, and that is what the Fascists want.

The present position of the various Governments, according to a note published by the Sub-Committee, is as follows.

The Belgian, Czechoslovakian and Swedish Governments agree in principle to the British proposals, and consider that a substantial withdrawal of volunteers is an indispensable condition for granting belligerent rights.

The French Government accepts the plan and announces

that after control has been re-established and a substantial withdrawal of volunteers has taken place, the French Government will consent "to both sides being authorised to use the rights which international usage allows to belligerents".

The German reply insists on the granting of belligerent rights being linked with the withdrawal of volunteers. It also considers that control should be exercised on land, sea and air. The Italian Government accepts the plan as a whole. It nevertheless considers that the recognition of belligerent rights should be granted immediately.

"The Portuguese Government formulates many suggestions, the chief of which coincide with the observations of the German and Italian Governments."

The Soviet Government in its reply expresses itself very strongly on the subject of the rebels and doubts if the withdrawal of volunteers will ever be successfully carried out. Above all the Soviet Government rejects the suggestion that immediate negotiations be begun between the British Government and both the oppos-

ing sides in Spain on the question of granting belligerent rights.

With the exception of Maisky's splendid defence of the Republic, we have no reason to be pleased with the recent deliberations of the Non-Intervention Committee. France's gesture on July 13 has remained only a gesture, and the fact that French police have taken the place of international observers is not enough to fundamentally change the world situation.

There are other dangerous signs. Franco's agents are trying to raise a loan in London. In the House of Commons Eden has refused to give an undertaking that Parliament will be summoned in the event of the present discussions breaking down or of the question of recognising Franco as a belligerent arising.

In view of the close connections between Germany and Japan there seems little doubt that the Japanese attack on China has as one of its objects to attract the attention of the world away from the Spanish struggle, on the principle that it is more difficult to put out two fires than one.

Now, more than ever, is it possible to defeat fascism by the united action of the two great working-class internationals; by the action of workers of all democratic countries in solidarity with democratic Spain; by the aid of the people of the U. R. S. R., without which, as Martínez Barrios, President of the Spanish Cortes, has said, "there would no longer be a Spanish Republic".

The Fascist insistence on the granting of belligerent rights to Franco is prompted by desperation, by the fact that internal difficulties beset Italy and Germany as a result of their enormous expenditure of arms, supplies and conscripted men for Franco's army. Realizing this, we can turn more than ever before to the Spanish people and to the international working class for the salvation of liberty.

A. M. E.

AMERICAN DELEGATION NOW TOURING SPAIN

Accompanying a thirty-two-ton shipment of supplies from the United States and Canada, a delegation of four American working class leaders and representatives has arrived in Spain and is now touring the different fronts and training camps where volunteers are stationed. The members of the delegation are: Max Bedacht, national secretary of the International Workers Order; Phil Bard, of the Friends of the Lincoln Battalion; Frank Mertens, of the National Maritime Union, and John P. Hautala, of the Finnish Workers Federation.

Although its primary purpose was to bring the large shipment, which contains soap,

cigarettes, chewing-gum, books etc., the delegation has other plans now. Chief among them are: (1) to find out what is most needed by American and Canadian volunteers in Spain and (2) to acquire first-hand facts about the situation here. Findings will be brought back to the many organizations, both in the United States and Canada, and used as the basis for further and increased appeals for aid to Spain.

Of the 32 tons of material, four tons were raised by the Canadian Friends of the MacKenzie-Papineau Battalion, an organization which has been growing rapidly in Canada since the formation of the battalion in Spain.

To the Youth of America

The following address, by Joseph P. Lash, national secretary of the American Student Union and a member of the National Council of the American Youth Congress, was delivered over Station EAR2, Madrid, on July 4, 1937.

★

Youth of America, friends of the American Youth Congress, my fellow-countrymen: One could aspire to no greater honor than this of bringing to you the salute of the heroic young Americans who are serving so valiantly, here in Spain the same cause for which many of you are met in Milwaukee — that of democracy, equality and peace. It is not false modesty which prompts me at the outset to declare that there are scores of young men in the American Battalions of the Spanish Peoples Army who have a better warrant for standing here at the microphone... We to whom democracy, equality, freedom are more than catchwords, but realities of human relations, to whom July 4th represents a day of significant progress for human society, are eternally indebted to these youthful compatriots. With their lives they are vindicating in Spain the United States of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. Unquestionably, the victory of the Spanish Peoples Army will help to make those immortal documents more of realities in the United States. The young people of America already have a cause for pride in the number of young Americans who are here, fighting on the Spanish battlefields, which are

the battlefields of humanity.

But if you salute, as is appropriate on July 4th, your fellow-Americans here, you should at the same time salute the youth of Spain. What miracles of valor they have accomplished! It is true that practically the whole Spanish people have risen against the effort of international fascism to enslave them, but the young men and women of Spain have performed special prodigies of organization, discipline and bravery.

In the early days of the fascist insurrection, when bravery and bare fists alone slowed down the advance of the traitorous fascist generals, it was the young men, at the initiative of the Unified Socialist Youth organization, that organized the first disciplined regiment of soldiers — the famous Fifth Regiment — which was fit for something more than barricade defense. Their example of discipline, and loyal subordination to the Peoples Front Government was one of the seeds which now is flowering into the magnificent Spanish Peoples Army.

In the little village where we have been training it is time to harvest the wheat and lentil fields. But all the able-bodied men are at the front. The young people, therefore, have organized shockbrigades: of boys who are not old enough to enter the army, and girls who every morning at 5:30 pile into trucks and go out into the fields to help the peasants bring in their harvests. It is no wonder that under the Peoples Front, the ties bet-

(Continued on page 8.)



LINA ODENA, Youthful political commissar killed on the Granada front.

ON THE NEW U. G. T. - C. N. T. PACT

The Executive Committee of the U. G. T. and the National Committee of the C. N. T. this week announced the signing of a unity pact between the two trade union federations. The agreement is largely concerned with creating a better feeling between members of the two organizations.

To this end provision is made for eliminating all types of coercion in recruiting members for either organization; it is forbidden to admit a member to one trade union center who has been expelled from the other; trade unions dropped from the U. G. T. cannot be admitted to the C. N. T. without consulting the latter, and vice versa.

A large part of the press including many organs of the U. G. T. criticize the agreement as incomplete or even empty. "Mundo Obrero" offers the most succinct argument. Unity of action between the two trade unions, says the Communist organ, is primarily needed "to achieve increased production; a system of intensive work in factories, shops and fields; an improvement in the principle 'a better wage for more and better work'; and always, of course, to collaborate with the Government in the latter's function of directing and coordinating industry. The Executive of the U.

G. T. and the National Committee of the C. N. T. in the pact they have just signed, completely omit the problems of war and production. For the pact there is no war, nor production, nor betterment for the workers... The pact does not say one word on these problems which are the fundamental ones for the people and the workers".

A second feature of the unity pact as drawn up by the U. G. T. Executive and the C. N. T. National Committee, is that it denies trade union legitimacy to any organization not affiliated to the C. N. T. or U. G. T. Thus while eliminating coercion as between the two bodies, a joint coercion as against unaffiliated bodies is established as a very principle of unity. It is not at all difficult to discover that this point is aimed at Provincial Peasant Federations such as that of Valencia, whose 80,000 members are organized to increase production while protecting themselves against "revolutionary" experimenters. Press criticism objects to this method of "outlawing" as delaying the merger of the Peasant Federations with other unions of farmworkers.

It is further pointed out that the Executive Committee of the U. G. T. must submit the pact to the National Committee before the U. G. T. can be said to have authorized it. It will be recalled that the National Committee completely disavowed the political line of the Executive in connection with the last crisis.

The pros and the cons agree that the pact has a positive aspect opening the way to closer cooperation on a sound basis. It calls for the creation of local trade union liaison committees, or joint committees, which shall bring their problems to the National Liaison Committee. By rapidly creating such committees everywhere, and at once raising problems related with increased production, central direction, and economic improvement of the workers' conditions, workers who find the present pact a mere skeleton of unity of action, can fill it with the desired content.

NOTICE

Americans who are transferred from one hospital to another are urged, immediately after the change, to send word of their new addresses to the American Commissar, at the Service de Cadres of the International Brigades, Albacete, Spain.

TO THE YOUTH OF AMERICA

ween peasant and urban workers have become so cordial.

The Federal Union of Spanish Students, which is the equivalent of our National Student Federation of America, has mobilized those of its members who cannot go to the front into shock troops that work in the trenches, eradicating illiteracy. Indeed, wherever there is a particularly important task — volunteers for anti-tank units, helping organize the war industries, the setting of examples of disciplined subordination of political interests — it is the youth of Spain which comes forward. They are the most loyal supporters of the Peoples Front Government. They were the most ardent advocates of the unified military command. They have carried on an intensive propaganda for the development of an effective rear-guard war industry.

And if the young people of Spain have thus been among the promptest to mobilize for the war against international fascism, if they were among the first large groups to realize the immensity of the tasks confronting the government in winning this war, it was because they were united. Being united, they spoke for the masses of youth who knew from personal experience the situation in their country.

My friends, we know the value of unity, of working together in the United States. We know what it has enabled us to accomplish in our campaign for the American Youth Act, and what the United Student Peace Committee has done to mobilize the schools against war. But one never quite appreciates the full significance of unity until one faces an enemy machine-gun nest. One does not delay to argue political differences at such a moment. Teamwork is the essence of success at such a time. Here in Spain the unity of the younger generation has been a decisive factor in the barring of the road to Hitler and Mussolini. That unity is symbolized first of all by the Spanish Youth Front which is like our American Youth Congress, and

secondly by the Unified Socialist Youth which unites Socialists, Communists and all young people who recognize that socialism is the road to peace and progress. This organization was the first to declare that the major task at the present moment was unity against fascism and for democracy.

These two organizations are the spokesmen of Spain's younger generation, a generation which knows that the victory of Hitler and Mussolini means for them a continuance and intensification of degrading ignorance and illiteracy, means unemployment, mass oppression and world war. Sometimes at noon I have sat outside a wealthy villa which is now a school, and have listened to the youthful tots, children of peasants, being taught to read and write in the first school that this village has seen. I have heard them sing NO PASARAN! And these words, uttered by these children, have brought to my mind, not soldiers being stored at the trenches of Madrid, but ignorance, disease, poverty, crime, which up to now have been the lot of Spanish youth. All the youth of every age are here united against fascism. We Americans need no other inspiration than the SALUD of a three-year-old youngster whom this Peoples Front Government now gives a chance to grow up as a decent human being, enjoying the fruits of his toil and developing his individual talents.

Side by side with the youth of Spain march the young foreign volunteers who form a splendid section of the Spanish Peoples Army. The poets of the future will sing their deeds. The future constitutions of nations will embody the ideals they symbolize. Not a body of freebooters, nor brutalized, but a body of highly-informed and determined men, who have realized that on the battlefields of Spain will the future of world peace and progress be determined.

No one outside of themselves will ever appreciate the hardships these men have uncomplainingly overcome alone

guide of the Spanish masses, or the tremendous readjustment they have had to make. I asked some young Americans what they wanted to say to you. Their first declaration was: "Tell them our army will lick Franco." Secondly, they said: "We hope our example has helped to strengthen the unity of American youth in behalf of the Spanish people." And thirdly: "We don't like to talk. The job of a good anti-fascist here is to be a good soldier."

Don't get the impression, however, that the life of the fellows here is circumscribed by their military objectives. I wish you could see our wall-papers in which steel workers write poetry and machine-gunners analyze international political developments. Every scrap of literature is voraciously gobbled up. I wish you could hear our songs, which are not bloody diatribes, but full of longing for our homeland, full of determination that — I shall quote the exact words — "Every inch will we recapture, every inch of Spanish soil."

No one complains about the hard work. We only hope that you too will work for what is a common cause, even though at the moment fascist bombers are not above your heads. Here we keep vigil 24 hours of the day, standing in mud, in the blazing sun, in the rain. Surely you can give an hour of your day in defense of Spanish democracy which — I hope I need not repeat it — is the defense of world democracy.

You cannot realize what your support and your solidarity

mean to us. At the back of our heads the question is always simmering: Will Germany provoke another Almeria? Will Mussolini continue to land thousands of more troops? Will the fascists, infuriated by their check, turn gas loose on us? And we know that only the united forces of the common people throughout the world can prevent these things.

It has been good talking to you and making this appeal to you, especially on July 4th. It was in the struggle to overthrow English oppression that our declaration of Independence was forged. In this war of the Spanish people against enslavement by German and Italian fascism, a new charter of human rights is being molded.

Youth of America! We of the Lincoln and Washington Battalions — and now we can add the name of the MacKenzie-Papineau Battalion which is made up of both Canadians and Americans — love our country, love it in a way that is possible only to one who is far away from it. We came to Spain because we realized that to preserve the noble things of our country, the people of Spain must triumph over international fascism. We want to return, but we will only do so with victory. You can help that, and help speed our return. Protest the farce of Non Intervention. Send aid for the children of Spain. Send medical aid. Show us that our home-land realizes its kinship with a sorely-oppressed sister democracy. Salud!

J. P. L.

OUR WAR INDUSTRIES

The complete nationalization of all war industries was demanded by the Syndicate of Metal Workers at a 3-day session held in Madrid last week. Newly-elected President of the Syndicate, Comrade Miguel Gonzales Alonso, stated:

"Our firm insistence on nationalization of war industries must not weaken. Nationalization must not be delayed. The Republic, though a central organism, must have control of

these factories and be able to supply them with raw materials to be used to make the tools of war, so that we can send guns and ammunition in sufficient quantities to our comrades at the front.

"Today, more than ever, it is necessary to strengthen and increase the production of the Catalonian war factories. The nationalization of our industry constitutes our greatest aim and desire."



The VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY

organ of the international brigades



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FASCISM WHISTLES IN THE DARK

Highly revealing, and of particular interest to us in Spain, is a series of articles and dispatches recently published in the American and British press. Although it is not necessary, at this late date, to cite the tremendous amount of open assistance given to Franco by Hitler and Mussolini, actual figures have so far been lacking. These figures are supplied by the British Daily Worker of July 29th:

"Mussolini has spent no less than 2,500,000,000 lire during the months from January to June on assisting General Franco", writes the Daily Worker's special correspondent. "In addition to this Italy has backed bills with which the rebels have purchased supplies and arms directly.

"This sensational figure, equivalent approximately to 26,300,000 pounds, was given, I am able to reveal, by the Duce's Finance Minister Paolo Thaon de Revel in a report to a special and secret meeting of the Finance Committee of the Italian Chamber a few weeks ago."

FASCISM'S "ADVENTURE"

Corroboration of this figure, and generally of the tremendous drainage of money and materials, as well as of men, which Italian Fascist intervention in Spain has meant, is contained in a wireless to the New York Times of July 4th by Arnaldo Cortesi, the paper's correspondent in Rome. Says Cortesi, whose status in relation to Mussolini is similar to

that of William Casney to Franco:

"If any one had been able to foresee in July, 1936, the developments of the Spanish civil war, it is doubtful whether



FRANCO

Italy would have rushed so light-heartedly into the adventure, the end of which is still not in sight. It seemed at the beginning that a few thousand volunteers and a few dozen airplanes would be sufficient to secure General Francisco Franco's victory..."

If any further proof were needed to show Mussolini's criminal invasion of Spain, Cortesi's dispatch — for the hundredth time — parades the cat, long since out of the bag, up and down the street. Furthermore, the date of the dispatch gibes perfectly with the Italian Finance Minister's report on the spent 2,500,000,000 lire, which (as the Daily Worker correspondent pointed out

on July 29th) was made "a few weeks ago".

If Duce's unofficial American mouthpiece is unusually frank, Cortesi continues:

"...Italy found herself fully committed to support the Insurgents in November last year when she recognized the Franco government, but thought at that time that the war would not last much longer, since everything led to the belief that the fall of Madrid, the siege of which had started less than a month before, was imminent."

Further: "Now the Italians find themselves up to their necks in the Spanish civil war, and they are beginning to look around for what they are likely to get from it when General Franco wins, as they think he will. The first advantage they hope to gain is purely negative, that they will avoid the loss of prestige they would suffer if the Valencia government triumphed despite fascism's best efforts."



COERING

The dispatch is concluded with a statement concerning the material gains hoped for by Mussolini: the vast mineral resources of Spain, and the strategic land concessions so necessary as military bases in the event of war.

GERMANY AND ENGLAND

The July issue of The Labour Monthly supplies the factual material necessary to an understanding of Germany's great stake in the invasion of Spain, and also provides the basic economic clue to British actions (Capt. Anthony Eden et al) in the Non-Intervention farce. Conrad Suden's article, "Anglo-German Interests in Spain", traces the complicated little-known network of Anglo-German capitalist connections in steel, chemical and armaments trusts, as well as in the international banking field, and concludes with the significant statement:

"The bonds between British and German capitalism in Spain do not account for the whole policy of British imperialism in its betrayal of democracy, its alliance with fascism; they do, however, constitute a factor of which the great importance is often overlooked."

DWINDLING RESOURCES

It is no wonder then, with Italy and Germany (and Portugal as well) so deeply sunk in their rapacious game in Spain (despite the diplomatic and material aid rendered by

British capitalism) that the fascists of all lands are beginning to whistle in the dark to keep up their dwindling courage. There is no need to speak of the critical condition in which the people of Germany find themselves, nor of the widespread misery of the Italian people aggravated not only by Mussolini's tremendous expenditures in Spain but also by his equally enormous losses in Ethiopia, which even to this day is not completely "pacified". Privation for the masses inevitably breeds opposition to the government, and it is for this reason that the fascists are forced to extend their stream of hopeful propaganda, at the same time that they are forced to admit the extent to which the "Spanish adventure" has drained their treasures and their manpower.

An unusual example of this "whistling in the dark" appears in the July 26th issue of the notoriously profascist London Daily Mail. Hopefully entitled "Ridding Spain of the Reds", it also calls attention to the "Italian's Big Part" in the dirty work. A few quotations will suffice to reveal the tone and temper of this article:

"When General Franco began the movement to rid Spain of the Reds there were many who wished him well but shook their heads doubtfully. True it is that Italy... responded promptly to the common unity and cause. Her aeroplanes flew men across the straits to make Seville secure when Queipo de Llano in that city was driven to every subterfuge to make his handful of troops look like an army..."

FAILURE AT MADRID

"It (Madrid) was theirs (the fascists) had they not turned off the main Seville-Madrid road to succour the heroes of the Alcazar at Toledo. That deviation gave the Reds just the amount of breathing space necessary for them to turn Madrid into a network of redoubts and fortresses.

"People who point out that Madrid is still not captured nevertheless know that in the meantime Franco has built up, with the assistance of German and Italian material and vo-



lunteers, an army which has saved more than half of Spain for ever from the menace of Bolshevism.

"I have spoken", says the Daily Mail's correspondent, who, we are informed, has "lately returned" from Spain, "with many highlyplaced Italians, and I know that from the generals down to the privates they all individually and without pressure expressed their anxiety to come to Spain". Note that the information comes from "highly-placed Italians".

"Italy has played a significant part in building the new Spain — so significant that it has been insisted that she must be getting territorial concessions like the Balearic Islands to compensate her. The answer is that Italy's compensation consists of an ordinary war debt for materials and munitions such as the one we incurred with the United States during the World War"

There follows, at this point, one of the most brazen bits of

tongue-in-cheek writing which we have ever read:

"It is recognized by those who know the facts that Italy has throughout been inspired by the highest motives. She asked nothing more than to see Spain go from strength to strength, her territory having been freed from the common enemy, Bolshevism. Thus (and here we are permitted a glimpse of Fascist modesty), though the Italian troops played a very important part in the capture of Bilbao, and though they could have been the first to enter the town, their commanders preferred to remain out of the limelight until the Spanish army had come into its own."

All of this constitutes an imposing array of admissions, "out of their own mouths", of the fascists' role in Spain. Yet the articles cited were chosen at random out of a mass of similar material now appearing in the English-speaking press. Weighing every statement carefully, there can no longer be any doubt whatever of (1) the enormous aid fascism has given to the traitorous generals, and (2) that this aid has drained the fascist powers to so considerable a degree that they must now institute a campaign of self-induced cheerfulness, of "whistling in the dark" to keep their spirits up, to hide from the world their moral and material degradation and to stave off, for as long as possible, their inevitable defeat both by their own inner structural weaknesses and by the growing strength of the revitalized Peoples Army of the Spanish Republic.

PLUGGING FOR "BUTTS" BACK HOME

To the American Boys Who Do their Bit to Make Madrid the Tomb of Fascism:

We, the C. P. and Y. C. L. unit of the Altro Shop, send a concrete message of solidarity in the name of the workers of our shop. We hope that our story of how the workers here thankfully contributed cigarettes to ease the strained nerves of our Lincoln Battalion may result in a personal reply.

Through our shop paper, we put in our first plug for "butts". During collections for the paper a young Catholic worker said to a comrade, "let me be the first to give a pack of 'Butts' to the boys of the Lincoln Battalion".



A united front was formed between us and the workers of different political opinions. They joined with us, and the workers were able to get at people who wouldn't or couldn't contribute to us.

It is pleasant to relate some highlights of the campaign in order to show the unity and solidarity on the heartfelt sympathies that all the workers here feel toward Spain and our boys. A young worker claimed that she couldn't afford to contribute—a week later she brought in a pack saying, "My conscience bothers me". The manager and foreman contributed saying "this is something about which we all feel the same". This is an instance of how people here have their minds and hearts in our struggle for you in the front lines, defending world democracy. May you carry on as gloriously as you have in the past and soon say "Pasaremos!"

COMRADELY YOURS,

Altro Shop Unit
1461 Hoe Avenue, C. P.,
5th A. D., Bronx, N. Y.

SAYS BARNACLE BILL

Said the ship owner, haughty and fat,
As he wiped off the top of his hat:

"It's very upsetting

"When sea-gulls are getting

"Class-conscious enough to do that!"

★

The nine Supreme Judges are blushing.

When Washington's plumber came rushing,

He looked at the court

And then made the report:

"Only one thing is wrong; it needs flushing."

MICHAEL QUIN

THE PLOT THAT FAILED

The whole world was surprised last June by a startling bit of news, ingeniously served up for public consumption. According to the dispatches from Berlin a Loyalist Spanish submarine had attempted to sink a German cruiser, the "Leipzig". The news had the unmistakable ring of a cooked-up plot, and the press everywhere, while giving its usual hospitality to the news, added some very skeptical comments. So the plot failed miserably. The "casus belli" so badly wanted petered out completely.

Now a German working on the "Leipzig" at the time of the "torpedoing" has exposed the whole frame-up to the press.

"Three days before leaving for Mediterranean waters (says the seaman) all the submarine detectors were closely inspected, and all those found even slightly below the highest standards changed... Before leaving, the captain, Von Loewisch, made a very strange speech to the crew. He told them: 'Our mission is very difficult. The eyes of all the nations are upon us'. That was all. The day the cruiser left a group of eleven persons came

aboard. They were completely unknown to the rest of the crew, with the exception of the captain. While steaming towards the Mediterranean, one ammunition store-room was completely emptied.

ITALIAN OFFICERS

"The ship was then visited by Italian and Spanish Fascist navy officers who made detailed inspections, especially of the compartment from which ammunition had been removed. Several secret meetings were held with the foreign officers and the group of eleven unknowns. The sound detectors were once more inspected, as well as the armored plate. The crew was convinced that the purpose of the inspections was to find a way of torpedoing the boat without danger of sinking it.

"The result of the inspection must have been negative, because soon after the 'inspectors' left for the 'Meteor', which had brought them to the 'Leipzig', all the removed ammunition was returned to its original place.

"All these maneuvers took place on June 10th and 11th. The 'Meteor' escorted the

"Leipzig" until the 21st. During June 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th, days when the attempted torpedoing was supposed to have taken place, nothing unusual happened on board, and no special precautions were taken. Everything was quite normal. The first thing that the crew heard about what was later to become known to them as the attempted sinking, was shortly before the ship entered the port of Wilhelmshaven. The captain told them that the ship had been attacked by a Bolshevik submarine. Officially only twelve people on the ship knew of the attempt, the eleven unknowns and the captain.

"As for the eleven strange guests of the cruiser, six of them were left on shore in Spain and taken to Berlin by plane, where they remained under strict watch. On June 19th, five more followed them and were quartered in Tempelhof and kept incommunicado.

"The crew is normally given two weeks' leave after such a trip. This time only five of the crew were given leave. They were all, significantly, rabid fascists. Even they, however, were given leave for only two



— When did Franco say he was going to enter Madrid?
— Oh, that was long before your time.

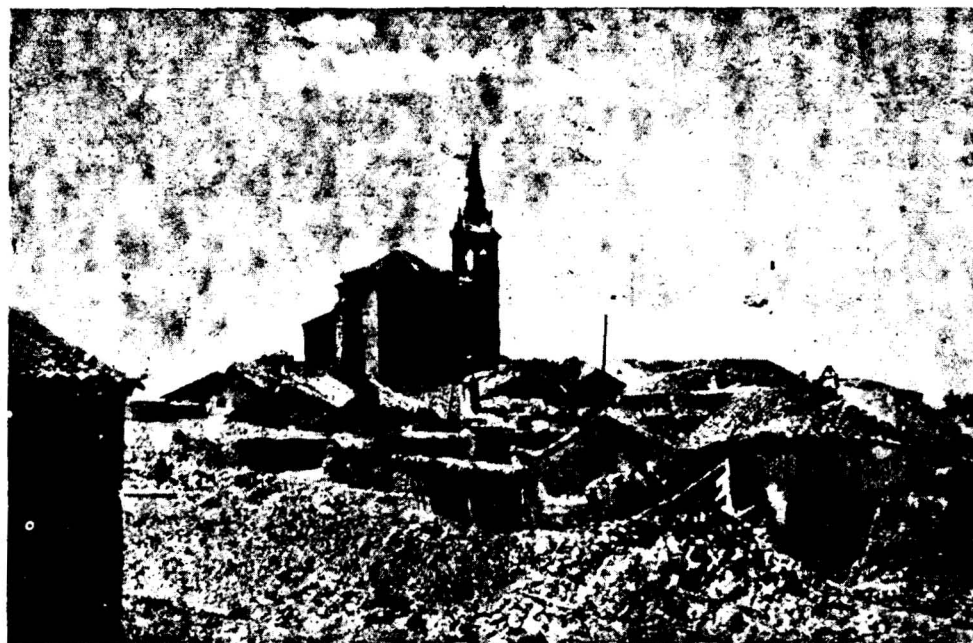
days, and under condition that they would go no further than twenty kilometers from the port. Communication with their families was prohibited both to them and to the remainder of the crew, and all mail was held up."

The above is a condensed copy of the official report. From the account, two things are evident: (1) The "torpedoing" did not take place only because the inspecting officers did not think that it could be carried out with safety, and (2) Germany will not stop at anything in causing a war of open invasion, regardless of the consequences.

More Poumists nabbed as spies

Ten more spies connected with the Trotskyite P. O. U. M. have been arrested and the police have placed them in the custody of the High Spy and Traitors Tribunal of the Spanish Government.

Documents revealing secret written and telegraphic codes have been seized. Papers referring to the underground traffic of arms have also been discovered. Among them are letters of communication with outside elements, exposing connections with Titler's secret police. Evidence now in the hands of the government brings out the leading part these spies played in the May Catalonian uprising. In all, approximately 300 arrests of Poumists have taken place, of which many have been turned over to the Espionage and Treason Court.



QUIJORNA.—After the Battle.

THE MOTOR FRONT

The Transport Regiment in Prose, Poetry and Pictures

Four fellows are playing cards. Several are reading the newspapers and newly-arrived letters, others are discussing political or other news. All are in the canteen of the First Transport Regiment. A motorcycle is heard. A moment later the bell sounds its chimes. "We Roll — Assembly", shout several. The Americans of the second squadron fall in, right dress and stand at attention.

"Rolling Orders. Gas masks, helmets, canteens. All trucks up to the gate immediately", orders Lieutenant Clark. "Dismissed". The fellows vie with each other to be the first in line. There's a dash for equipment, motors roar, and the trucks start for the gate.

squadron for his work. Whether it is wine, foodstuffs, ammunition or troops that they haul, the job is conscientiously and efficiently executed. Two hours after Brunete was taken, the squadron of trucks was transporting captured prisoners and grain behind our lines. They lay outside of Quijorna for three hours waiting for the town to be taken to deliver fortification material and food supplies. ("An army travels on its stomach"). They carried shells to artillery camps. They fed the troops, the cannons, and the rifles and sometimes carried wounded to the hospitals.

Braving aviation bombardment, consistent shelling and



vigilance. The roads are narrow and many chauffeurs are just learning. He never has the satisfaction of striking a personal blow against a fascist, never finds adequate relief for the hatred fascism

has welled up in him. Weaving his way through shells, ducking bombs, solitary, steadily, unflinchingly, and determinedly he delivers his load to the destination. Perhaps sometimes singing his song.



THE TRANSPORT REGIMENT (above) goes Hollywood in a big way. Above right. The boys proudly exhibit shrapnel that failed to get them.

"Where to", shout one or two. "Quien sabe", shout several in their newly acquired Spanish. And then the motor caravan begins.

In the recently bygone offensive, the Second Squadron of the First Transport Regiment attached to the Fifth Army Corps of the Spanish Army played its part well. It was the Colonel of the Escorial Intendencia who said that he wanted members of the second

strafing, they carried on their work. One comrade wounded by shrapnel, another struck directly by a bomb and a third missing testify to the risks.

The work is physically and mentally a strain. Sometimes the driver keeps going for thirty-six and forty-eight hours, with short catnaps in his seat. He is responsible for his truck and for its load. Driving in Spain demands the utmost caution and consistent

ELEGY (Ten Kilometers After Gray)

The curfew tells the knell of parting day,
A motley bunch of yaks retires to bed
Or else to shoot the crap, as they would say,
Or ponder on their day's misdeeds instead.

Off' have I wandered near some bracken-covered bower
And listened to the tales of do or die,
Then wondered how the fascists hold the power
To stand against the might of you and I.

But suddenly a sullen voice is heard
Echoing through the darkness of the night:
The hooting owl has nothing on this bird
Whose oft-repeated cry is, "Douse that light!"

A village Hampden might have argued here,
Or possibly the plowman would have kicked.
We realize enough these things to bear.
A deathly silence reigns; we knew we're licked.

Full many a gem of wit that's smartly said
Is squelched beneath the timbre of that voice.
Full many a flowery adjective profane
Is muffled in the covers of the bed.

A few short hours they sleep the sleep of man,
Slumbering in the attitudes they like.
Then crashing roar of thunder awakens them,
Not fascist bombs — it's just the voice of Mike!
The station of a god does he enjoy,
The heavens tremble when he shouts, "CONVOY!"

ERNIE PARLOUR
First Transport Regiment
Second Squadron.

CHINA - ANOTHER SPAIN

"Last year our country concluded an agreement with Germany against the Comintern. Our Government is undertaking action to give effect to this agreement." Hirota.

"China is a peaceful country and we have constantly tried to settle our differences with Japan through diplomatic channels. We are a weak nation, but if we are brought to bay we will defend our right to a national existence to the last gasp." Chiang Kai Shek.

The Japanese began their latest adventure in China in a spirit of optimism. "we will clean up Northern China... the campaign will last a month if conditions are favorable, two months if the Chinese resist", is how a spokesman of the Japanese Army gave his view of the situation. There is reason to believe that this optimism has now become a little tarnished. The Japanese have found that they are no longer attacking the China of the Manchuria and Jehol days—a country which was torn by civil war and unable to make a united resistance against the invader. The insistent demand of the Chinese people and the wise policy of the Chinese Soviet Government have brought into being a new China, far more united, far more able and determined to defend itself against the Fascist imperialists. For the first time the Chinese will be able to fight as a nation under a national leadership which has clearly and unambiguously given the order to resist. It is true that the Nanking Government has as yet concluded no formal agreement with the Chinese Soviets nor the Kuomintang with the Communist Party. It is also true that there are still men, holding important positions in China, who will be prepared to commit any treason to further their personal ends. But there are indications that this time the mass of the Chinese people is more aware than ever before of what is at stake, and will be able to sweep from its path

BUT THIS TIME JAPAN FACES UNIFIED CHINESE RESISTANCE

traitors and those who work against national unity in the face of the enemy.

PREPARATIONS RAPID

The Nanking Government has demanded the speeding up of preparations for defence and for putting the army on a war footing. It has decreed conscription and mobilisation on a wide scale.

The soldiers of the 29th Army declared that they would not accept foreign orders to withdraw from the Hopei region, and they disobeyed the orders of their own leaders to retire. When the Civil Guards at Tung Cheou learned that their leader had betrayed them, they mutinied and killed the Japanese.

At Swatow the authorities have ordered every family to prepare a reserve supply of food and water, and to collect five bags of sand for the defence. Employees in Japanese concerns have come out on strike. The movement for boycotting Japanese goods is spreading. At Canton and other places the workers have taken the decision not to load Japanese ships.

Unity in China is being realised in the northward march

of the columns of the National Chinese Army which is to be joined by strong contingents from the Chinese Red Army, which has held its own during ten years fighting against heavy odds. And in addition, the Chinese have the certainty that they will be supported by thousands of partisan fighters in the Japanese rear.

OTHER ASPECTS

But if these things are new, there are other aspects of the conflict with which we are already all too familiar.

Between the aims and methods of Fascists in the East and in the West there is a close similarity. On July 25th the Japanese ambassador at Paris declared smilingly: "Japan is not so stupid as to want to make war on China". The aggressor countries no longer formally declare war. They begin with a mixture of provocations, negotiations and hostilities, or they intervene to support a rising they have fomented.

The Japanese have shown that the Germans and Italians have not the monopoly in the art of bombing and machine-gunning civilian populations, and they have already staged their own version of Badajoz.

EXCUSES FOR AGGRESSION

The aims which Japanese Fascism is hoping to carry out in China bear a close resemblance to those of the German and Italian fascists in Spain. Fascist propagandists, and also honest people who have been misled, paint a tragic picture of a vast population packed into some small islands and desperately needing space to live. But Japan has already detached great areas from China and these areas have not been colonised by Japanese workers and peasants but by textile manufacturers, munition makers, bankers and soldiers—individuals whose business it is to enslave the Chinese.

The immediate purpose of Japan is to submit Northern China, with its population of 80,000,000 inhabitants, to the same fate as Manchuria—not to settle Japanese colonists, but to secure raw materials, a market for Japanese goods and cheap labor, and as a step towards the complete conquest of China. Moreover the Japanese want to make their rear safe for an eventual war with the Soviet Union, for it would be madness for Japan to attack the Soviet Union until a very considerable part of China is completely under her control.

DOUBLE PURPOSE

The war has a double purpose. On the one hand it is intended to help Japan's ally, Germany, to wring more concessions from the British Government with regard to Spain, and on the other hand it is required by Japan as a trump card in the unsavoury game which she is playing with Britain for the division of China into spheres of influence. Japan, encouraged by the weakness which the Western powers have shown with regard to Spain, has drawn the conclusion that the surest way to come to terms with the British Government is to confront it with an accomplished fact; and Eden's



VILLANUEVA DE LA CAÑADA

CHINA - ANOTHER SPAIN

statement on July 19th gives the impression that Britain is not prepared to put any serious opposition in the way of the Japanese plans, in spite of the uneasiness of the U. S. A. For although Britain has valuable interests in China which would be seriously endangered by a Japanese success, she also has valuable interests in India which would also be threatened if the Chinese gave a victorious example of how to deal with imperialism.

Like her European allies, Japan is attempting to cover her aggression with an Anti-Bolshevik veil as well as by the "civilising" mission for which all Fascists feel such a strong vocation. Prince Konoé describes the aim of Japanese foreign policy as being "the stabilisation of Eastern Asia, which can only be assured by co-operation between Japan, Manchuria and China to stop Communist penetration via Outer Mongolia". Such co-operation would suit Japan's purpose admirably. It would provide her with unlimited scope for intervention and would make the unification and centralisation of the movement for the national liberation of China quite impossible.

BREEDING MORE AGGRESSION

Nor would Japan be satisfied with Northern China. The conquest of the North would be followed by an advance towards the Centre, and after Peiping would come Nanking. Swatow and Shanghai would be attacked, and then an attack would possibly follow on the Mongolian People's Republic, with all the consequences that this would involve.

Japan is heavily committed to this venture. In four weeks it has cost her 517 million yen. The price of foodstuffs is rising, and a very difficult financial situation confronts the military Fascist clique who badly need a rapid victory which might start a new wave of jingoism and save them from a rising of the people.

CHINA RESISTS

China was never so prepared as now to resist the invaders.

The people know the danger and are ready to fight against it as a nation. Chiang Kai Shek has declared that the Nanking Government realises what is at stake and will fight if needs be to the finish:

"If we ask for peace once hos-

tilities have been begun, conditions would be imposed on us which would be equivalent to the enslavement and destruction of China.

"We must realise that if we hesitate and allow ourselves to be deceived by the hope of temporary security we are lost."

In a message to the Spanish people, the President of the Chinese Soviet Government declared:

"We know that your victory will help us in our struggle against Fascism. Your cause is ours."

We send back that message to the Chinese people.

A. M. E.

PROPAGANDA BEHIND ENEMY LINES

A Task for Our Political Commissars

The results of our propaganda amongst the enemy troops are constantly increasing, which is evidence that the living conditions in enemy territory are continually getting worse, and that our military successes are having the effect of pushing both the civilian population and the soldiers to rebellion against the fascist oppression.

The mutinies of Granada, Motril, Aguilar del Campo (Santander) are but a confirmation of our assertions. The increasing desertions to our lines are still another evidence. All of these events do not occur spontaneously. They are the result of our work, of all our work, behind the enemy lines.

We have the report of Comrade Vittori, of our 15th International Brigade. Here is what he writes, under the title:

"WORK IN THE ENEMY LINES"

"We speak every night to the enemy, using a microphone and a loud speaker. This work is carried on in a strictly-organized manner, and no one is permitted to speak without the control of the Battalion Commissar. The subjects for these speeches are the following:

- "1. Reading of the War Bulletin.
- "2. Why we fight.
- "3. What happens within our lines, compared to what happens within theirs.
- "4. Why Hitler and Mussolini send troops to Spain.
- "5. That we shall inevitably

win against the enemy army.

"6. Crimes committed by the invading troops which came to help Franco.

"7. How we treat our prisoners.

"8. Advice on how to weaken the fascist army.

"These and a number of other, similar subjects have been part of the work which has been followed systematically by the men of our Brigade for many weeks. Here are the results.

"On July 15th a soldier from the rebel camp came over to us. On the 23rd two more came over to us with rifles and grenades. During the night of August 1st 23 soldiers, among whom were a corporal and a non-commissioned officer, came over to us carrying eleven rifles, a sub-machinegun and cartridges."

PROPAGANDA EFFECTIVE

As you see, the results are important.

According to statements made by the deserters, our propaganda has made a powerful impression upon the enemy troops; it has in many cases demoralized them; it has awakened their anti-fascist sentiments, and thus deprived Franco of some of his troops.

The deserters affirm that the enemy is considerably demoralized and that, were it not for the extreme difficulties involved, there would be desertions daily.

Such results as these prove

that we must increase the intensity of our work.

One of the 23 deserters said to our comrades: "If we could have communicated with each other, not only could we have organized the escape, but we could have caused the desertion of whole companies."

Here is a problem us to solve: how to organize our work behind the enemy lines, not only for the purpose of causing desertions but also for the organization of attacks against the enemy positions.

DIFFICULT AND DELICATE

It is evident that, had we been able to communicate with the courageous soldiers who deserted to our lines, we could have organized a real surprise which might have brought us great results.

I know that the problem is a difficult and also a very delicate one, but it is one which must be faced by our Comrades and by our Commissars.

The morale of the enemy is so low that we must take advantage of it by an audacious plan and not merely through simple propaganda.

Loudspeakers to every front!

On all fronts we must carry on systematic work in the enemy lines.

On all fronts must we study carefully the possibilities of disintegrating the enemy forces and of attracting them to our side.

Here, I repeat, is one of the most important tasks for our Commissars and our soldiers.

LUIGI GALLO

LETTERS from HOME

With this issue we are creating a new department, a department whose continued life depends on our readers. Whenever possible we shall publish letters from home — from friends, parents, wives, brothers — to American, English and Canadian volunteers in Spain. Needless to say, no names will be used. We urge all our readers to help build this department by sending their letters or copies of letters to the Editor.

★

"Dear L...:

I received your last letter last week, but since then I have read how you were wounded; and believe me that I am very proud of you and hope that you weren't seriously hurt. We all know that your efforts to fight for liberty and against fascism will not be in vain.

We over here, my son, are trying in our own way to assist in the fight for liberty-loving Spain, although our efforts are feeble compared with your risking your life in this fight for the oppressed.

Don't worry about us here. We are getting along fine. We are all in good health and I'm being helped financially by your brothers and sister. It is you that we are all concerned about. If there is anything you require that is in our power to give please let us know and we

will do our utmost to see that you get it... I hope this letter finds you in good spirit and sufficiently recovered so that you may answer immediately. With love from all, and especially from.

Your proud Father, J...
Brooklyn, N. Y. July 11, 1937."

★

"Dear Blacky and Comrades:

Was mighty glad to hear that you arrived at your destination and are now in har-



ness... As for the section here, we have been moving fast. We won a great victory in the

ONE MUST BE BLIND

One must be blind,
must have, as though placed in his eyes, splinters of
[glass,
quicklime,
burning sand,
not to see the light emanating from our deeds,
illuminating our tongues from within,
our every word.

One must wish to die without a testament of glory
[and happiness,
without participation in future hymns,
ignored by the judges of the sombre past.

One must wish, while still alive, to be of the past,
a bloody hindrance,
a dead thing,
a dry oblivion.

RAFAEL ALBERTI



HENRI THE V 8

expected. Maritime Federation is also now balloting on same. Return from Sailors Union on C. I. O. went *ten to one* for C. I. O. Puget Sound council officers are trying to sabotage vote on C. I. O. by not sending out ballots to membership, but the rank and file is demanding ballots and will not be sabotaged..

The Blagin Mill had a two-day strike over wage raises, which was won hands down. R. N. sure took it hard about his defeat; the reactionaries came out with a big red-baiting scare just before the election, but it only helped win for us.

We had an Aid for Spain drive two weeks ago and raised 125 dollars and also a large truckload of clothes. Soon we will start another drive and make a big cleanup to send cigarettes, send cigarettes, send cigarettes and more cigarettes, and a hell of a lot of other things to you boys. You can expect a lot of the other boys here to join you soon.

With revolutionary greetings, W...

Aberdeen, Wash. June 27, 1937."

★

Remember: if you have any letters you think would be of general interest, send them along to The Volunteer, S. R. I. Plaza del Altozano, 63, E, Albacete.

NATIONAL MARITIME UNION GREET'S SEAMEN IN SPAIN

The following cablegram has just been received here:

"N. M. U. CONVENTION GREET'S OUR BROTHERS FIGHTING FOR DEMOCRACY STOP YOU HAVE OUR COMPLETE SUPPORT. — JOE CURRAN CHAIRMAN, THOMAS RAY, SECRETARY."

local union elections: we elected X for president, Y for recording secretary and Z as loggers' business agent. We've also been doing a good job of getting new members and collecting another bunch of buddies for you comrades. I myself am out of the running regarding that, as H. is soon going to Seattle to reinforce J., and the section decided that I am to replace him here. This will take place within the next two weeks. I sure will have to get in and dig harder than ever before to keep the section going as well as H. has, but I will give you comrades my proletarian oath that, with the help of the rest of the boys, I will do it or go down trying.

Your brother, Red, and the C. boys are all working at Saginaw, and I am working at Polson 5. Much interest was shown by all the boys when news got out that you had left; the P. I. even gave it a write-up, no fooling. We will soon give an affair to raise funds for you boys, and it will go over big.

A two-day strike at Polson was won pronto. The Western camp has been shut down since you left as the cedar market went blooey, but all others are running strong. All locals are voting on the C. I. O. question, results to be known soon, and a favorable vote is

ON THE NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY

THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF MEETINGS TO BE HELD IN MADRID

Serious threats to internal peace, plotted by elements having a childish conception of war and of social revolution, and by tools of fascism attempting to agitate the masses with the slogans and deceptions indicated by Trotzky, have impelled the Communist Party of Spain to initiate a series of mass meetings.

The purpose of these mass meetings is not only to present the program of the Communist Party, but largely to popularize the aims of the Popular Front Government.

In this work of propaganda the Socialist Party is concurring enthusiastically, giving evidence that the unification of the two main proletarian parties of Spain is being accomplished and that the joint work is proceeding with increasing intensity even before the actual formality of unification has been carried out.

The meeting held at the Cine Salamanca on Sunday, August 8, was one of many held at the same time in many parts of Spain, and also the first of a series. That there was a need for such a meeting was best shown by the kind of speeches made.

We have been told repeatedly that Catalonia wanted autonomy, and also that it wanted a complete separation from the rest of Spain. Such a theory was very convenient to those who wanted to do as they pleased and needed a theory to defend their misdeeds. And their misdeeds were as many as they were varied. Last May these very same elements thought they had sufficient strength to victoriously challenge the government. But that was only a spectacular evidence of the seriousness of the danger they represented. Because these disorders had been confined chiefly to Catalonia, and because the idea of national autonomy had been misinterpreted, both there and in the rest of Spain, especially

by the enemies of the Popular Front Government, a pessimistic belief grew everywhere that Catalonia was not only a national problem but also practically a lost province. It was for the purpose of dispelling this belief and to inform Madrid of what the workers of Catalonia were doing that Rafael Vidiella, member of the Catalan Government and leading member of the Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia, was among the speakers at the meeting.

War industries

We all know that one of the chief weaknesses of Loyalist Spain in the waging of its war of Independence is the lack of a real war industry. Catalonia was hoped to be the region where such an industry could be created. But in the way of the formation of such an industry there were obstacles of a technical nature as well of a psychological nature, Vidiella said.

The Spanish aristocracy never allowed Catalanian industry to develop in the direction of a potential war industry. The bourgeoisie knew full well that the industrial proletariat of Catalonia was a constant threat to its hegemony. The metal industry especially was kept within the limits of small production. The most developed industrial region of Spain, containing also no small amount of mineral wealth, remained an anemic industrial region, that is an industry which had importance only in relation to the much less developed industry of the rest of Spain. Such a condition could not be remedied in four days. Not only was it necessary to reorganize the industry, but it was necessary to reorganize the political structure of the whole region.

While the industry was found out to be unequal to the task, and in need of important

changes, the psychology of the working class had also to undergo a serious change. Catalonia was the region where the "organization of indiscipline" was a much cherished slogan. And by organization of indiscipline was meant that everyone could do as he damn pleased, that every factory council could ignore every thing else outside of itself, and that every town council, where any existed, could find its orders flouted by anyone, with full impunity, because of a state of mind altogether too prevalent. Such a situation was ideal under the old regime for the purpose of paralyzing the conduct of the existing social structure. Even then such conduct could not have positive results. But in war time, under social revolutionary conditions, it became clear that the continuation of such a policy was of the greatest help only to the fascists in the trenches and beyond. The necessary educational work has been undertaken and Catalonia is improving in a very promising manner. Production, which had fallen off scandalously, is decidedly on the increase. Many war necessities are now being produced quite efficiently and a feeling of general optimism is growing about the share that Catalonia will contribute to the winning of the war.

This is taking place parallel with the growth of the Unified Socialist Party formed by the merger of four separate parties which had, at the time of unification, a combined membership of about 7,000 members; and which during war time, and in spite of serious opposition of dangerous but very influential elements, has grown to a membership of well over 60,000.

The problem presented by Comrade Vicente Uribe, Minister for Agriculture, was another one, but closely related with the statements made by Vidiella.

Unification in Spain today is not merely a political problem concerning the parties involved. It is an extremely urgent problem on which the whole course of the war depends. It is clear that those who like to organize indiscipline are not fit to carry on the war and that victory cannot come through them.

They have lorded it in many villages and in all too great a number of industries. But the Spanish proletariat is in this fight to win, and it will not allow anything to remain in the way of the fight for victory. As Uribe well said, their attempts to raise their head at this moment is a sure indication of their admission that it is a matter of "now or never".

Here is a quotation from Uribe's speech:

"When the question arises of the nationalisation of industry, when it becomes important to mobilize this or that shop for war industry purposes, these new rich come out with their fancy notions that they are the enemies of the Government and of the State, while at the same time they build little governments of their own and do as it damn pleases them. And these new rich, whose wealth will not last long, when their dividends are not quite sufficient, know how to go to the very same Government whom enemies they say they are, and do not mind asking for more money.

"These elements, who are opposed to Government control of the economic means of the nation, are part of the chorus of owls hooting in the night without the least concern for the aims and need of the people. First they hold the money which is not their and then they are forever yelping at the government for more and ever more money.

"They are mistaken."

H. A.



The VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY

organ of the international brigades



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THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY AT HOME

Leo Gallagher, the author of the accompanying article, needs no introduction to the American volunteers. Since the organization of the international Labor Defense in 1925 he has defended, in California, thousands of workers falsely arrested for attempting to exercise the democratic rights they supposedly possessed under the Bill of Rights. He has been attorney for Tom Mooney; and he was sent to Germany in 1938 to defend Dimitroff, framed on the preposterous charge of having burned the Reichstag building in Berlin. Recently Leo Gallagher was the attorney for the defendants in the famous Sacramento Criminal Syndicalism trial. Two years ago, running for the Supreme Court in California, he polled 248,000 votes — the largest ever recorded by a progressive or labor candidate. — Editor's Note.

No one can well deny that there has been in the last two years a great advance in the organization of the progressive forces of the United States. Following the United Scowww Following the General Strike in San Francisco in 1934, the maritime workers of the West Coast consolidated their forces and achieved unity by the organization of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific.

The longshoremen, sailors and other maritime workers of the East and Gulf coasts, as well as on the Great Lakes, soon recognized the correct tactics used on the Pacific, and proceeded to repudiate their

old leadership. As a consequence, it will not be long before we shall find in the United States a powerful, unified National Maritime Federation.

— AND THE C. I. O.

The successes of the maritime workers have been duplicated in other fields. John

L. Lewis and his associates, conscious of the impotence of "craft" union organization in steel, rubber, auto and other basic industries, set out to organize hundreds of thousands of unorganized workers in these and other fields. Their success has been immediate and overwhelming. Millions of workers are now organized

into the C. I. O. and additional thousands are being added every week.

On the other hand, the reactionary forces controlling the economic life of the country are not blind to the threat which powerful union organization will mean to their dictatorial powers and privileges. They have converted their factories into armed fortresses, manned by gangsters, labor spies and provocateurs, who mislead or by threats force thousands of misguided workers to act as scabs. In this they are helped by the organization and use of company unions.

The struggle between the progressive forces of labor and the reactionary forces of privilege is becoming more bitter from day to day. The reactionaries, in this situation, instinctively turn to their old ally — or rather their historic servant, the State — for aid. But here too conditions are changing.

POLITICAL TREND IN U. S.

The rank and file of the American people have become aroused by the destruction of democratic rights in Germany and Italy. Just as France and Spain organized great united fronts in defense of democracy, so in America the progressive forces have begun to elect candidates on the basis of previous, proven records rather than upon the former candidates chosen by the reactionaries. As a result, the political apparatus in the United

FRANCO'S MAN-POWER

Probably everyone has wanted time and again to know just how many troops Franco has at his disposal and what he can count on for reserves. Izvestia's military expert Golubev has provided us with a fine analysis of the human resources of the rebels. Not content to show that Franco can put no more than 240,000 to 270,000 men in the fields as an Army of combat, with 70,000 to 100,000 of these on the Madrid fronts (not counting Guadalajara), Golubev traces the men to their sources.

At the beginning of the war there were 100,000 to 120,000 soldiers carried over to the rebellion; adding Civil Guards and other militarized bodies, we get from 130,000 to 140,000; with the requetés and Phalanxists the Army of Rebellion would total 200,000. In December 1936 five years' conscripts were called up, so that at the beginning of 1937 the total manpower for the year came to 370,000 or 390,000, consisting of 200,000 recruits and

miscellaneous forces for secondary fronts and local garrisons, etc., 110,000 to 120,000 soldiers, 60,000 to 70,000 requetés and Fascists of the Pha-



lanx. Italians, Germans and Moors arrived steadily during 1937. The intervention troops totalled some 120,000 to 130,000 and by July not less than

(Continued on page 2.)

States, while far from ideal, is at least more favorable to labor than in the past. A number of public officials are fearlessly exposing the past hypocrisies of the political and labor fakirs alike.

Under this influence, a sufficient number of cowardly and even reactionary public officials have been forced to legislate and interpret laws in favor of labor. During the Roosevelt administration a number of measures have been enacted which are really epochal in the labor field — no-



Leo Gallagher.

tably the National Labor Relations Act, commonly known as the Wagner Labor Law. This law guarantees to the workers the right to organize into unions of their own choice. It therefore in effect outlaws the company union — the main obstacle to genuine union organization. After the passage of this act, the great American corporations, with their usual cynical disregard of law, continued to violate workers rights as they had done in the past. They felt that they might safely count upon the United States Supreme Court — the last citadel of reaction — to declare the Wagner Act unconstitutional.

TORIES DEFEATED

But here again the reactionaries failed to take into account the changed political set-up. The ferocious drive to reform the Supreme Court was initiated. As a result of this

campaign, which was organized around the issue of curtailing the powers of the Court, that body came into such disrepute and was so discredited that it did not dare to declare the Wagner Act unconstitutional. The right of workers to bargain collectively through agencies of their own choice was judicially recognized. Meanwhile the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee was exposing the lawlessness of the great American corporations on the industrial field.

That the struggle for Labor's rights has not been an easy one, and that reaction is organizing to destroy all vestiges of democratic rights in America may be seen from the fact that the struggle to reform the United States Supreme Court was defeated, despite the fact that the majority of the American people were behind the effort.

All these events in America are directly linked up with the fascist invasion of Spain, and with the Washington-Lincoln Battalion — the American advance guard in the struggle for the defense of democratic rights in the United States.

Both the progressive and the reactionary forces in America are closely following events in Spain. The reactionaries fully realize that a fascist victory in Spain would result in a general strengthening of fascism throughout the world, and therefore also in the United States. With such a swing to the right, they would redouble their espionage and terrorism, and break the labor union movement throughout the country.

AMERICA WATCHES US

The progressive forces, on the other hand, know that the victory of democracy in Spain will immediately strengthen the united front, democratic forces throughout the world, and specifically in the United States. It is for this reason, and to give a concrete proof of solidarity with Republican

Spain, that the Maritime Federation of the Pacific called a general strike of its 40,000 members a few weeks ago,

The role of the members of the Washington-Lincoln Battalion can best be understood when one realizes that the fight in Spain is likely to shape the future of society throughout the world for years to come.

For this reason, we in America scan each day's paper for news about the Washington-Lincoln Battalion. We have read with pride the record of your struggles — volunteers who on foreign fields are defending American democracy.

To the Washington-Lincoln Battalion. Salud!

LEO GALLAGHER

BROOKLYN SHIP YARD

SEES MASS PICKETING

Blunt refusal of the management of Robin Dry Dock Co. to negotiate a settlement with 15,000 workers on strike for over seven weeks, brought out a mass picket of more than 3,500 workers before the yards.

A similar demonstration took place before the Sisco Plant of the United Ship Yards Corp. at Mariner's Harbor, Staten Island.

Several truckloads of strikers from the Hoboken Tjenjen & Lang Yards participated in the Staten Island mass picketing. A very large percentage of Irish-Americans participated in the picketing together with their wives.

FRANCO'S MAN-POWER

(Continued from page 2.)

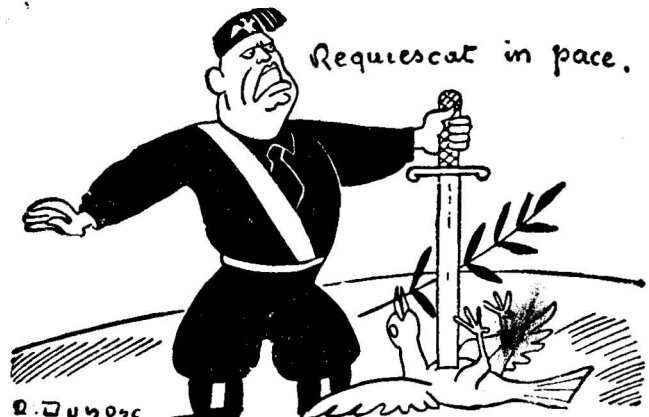
20,000 to 25,000 more Moors had been recruited. Thus Franco began the second year of war with from 390,000 to 440,000 men, when we have deducted his years' losses of 150,000 men. Troops needed in Morocco, secondary forces, auxiliary groups, local detachments absorb from 150,000 to 175,000 men, leaving a maximum figure of 240,000 to 270,000 for his Army of Combat.

When the Government offensive began at Brunete, the Fascists maintained some 70,000

men on the entire Madrid front with the exception of the Guadalajara side. It was reported that they had decided to increase their forces around Madrid to 100,000, utilizing Italians, in view of the increased mobility of the People's Army.

Franco himself summarizes his manpower problem in his proposals for a new rebel offensive: Mussolini and Hitler must give him 125,000 men or he cannot move, he reports.

Which amply reveals his condition.



REST IN PEACE. Mussolini gets his bird.

TOO MUCH OF RACE

The following address was made by Langston Hughes, outstanding American poet and novelist, at the Second International Writers Congress in Paris, a month ago.

Members of the Second International Writers Congress and people of Paris: I come from a land called America, a democratic land, a rich land—and yet a land whose democracy from the very beginning has been tainted with race prejudice born of slavery, and whose richness has been poured through the narrow channels of greed into the hands of the few. I come to the Second International Writers Congress representing my country, America, but most especially representing the Negro peoples of America, and the poor peoples of America—because I am both a Negro and poor. And that combination of color and of poverty gives me the right then to speak for the most oppressed group in America—that group that has known so little of democracy—the fifteen million Negroes who dwell within our borders.

We are the people who have long known in actual practice the meaning of the word fascism—for the American attitude toward us has always been one of economic and social discrimination: In many States of our country Negroes are not permitted to vote or

to be unable to work in editorial offices, or write for the motion pictures. We know Jim-Crow cars, race-riots, lynchings, the sorrows of the Scottsboro boys. In America, Negroes do not have to be told what fascism is in action. We know. It's theories of Nordic supremacy and economic suppression have long been realities to us.



FASCISM ON WORLD SCALE

And now we view Fascism on a world scale: Hitler in Germany with the abolition of labor unions, his tyranny over the Jews, and the sterilization of the Negro children of Cologne; Mussolini in Italy with his banning of Negroes on the theatrical stages, and his expeditions of slaughter in Ethiopia; the Military Party in Japan with their little maps of how they'll conquer the whole world, and their savage treatment of the Koreans and Chinese; Batista and Vincent, the little American-made tyrants of Cuba and Haiti; and now Spain, and Franco with his absurd cry of "Viva España" in the hands of Italians, Moors, and Germans invited to help him achieve "Spanish unity". Absurd, but true!

We Negroes of America are tired of a world divided superficially on the basis of race and color—but in reality on the basis of poverty and power—the rich over the poor, no matter what their color. We Negroes of America are tired of a world in which it is possible for any one group of people to say to another, "You have no right to happiness, or freedom, or the joy of life". We are tired of a world where forever we work for someone else and the profits are not ours. We are tired of a world where, when we raise our voices against oppression, we are immediately jailed, intimidated, beaten, sometimes lynched.

Nicolas Guillen has been in prison in Cuba, Jacques Roumain in Haiti, Angelo Hernandez in the United States. The great Indian writer, Raj Anand, cannot come to the Writers Congress in Paris because the British police have taken his passport from him.

"MURDER IS NOTHING"

I say, we darker peoples of the earth are tired of a world in which things like that can happen. And we see in the tragedy of Spain how far the world-oppressors will go to retain their power. To them, now, the murder of women and children is nothing. Those who have already practiced bombing the little villages of Ethiopia, now bomb Guernica



and Madrid. The same Fascists who forced Italian peasants to fight in Africa now force African Moors to fight in Europe. They do not care about color when they can use you for profits or for war. Japan attempts to force the Chinese of Manchuria to work and fight under Japanese supervision for the glory and wealth of the Tokio bourgeoisie—one colored

people dominating another at the point of guns. Race means nothing when it can be turned to Fascist use. And yet race means everything when fascists of the world use it as a bugaboo and a terror to keep the working masses from getting together.

Just as in America, they tell the whites that Negroes are dangerous brutes and rapists, so in Germany they lie about the Jews, and in Italy they cast their verbal spit upon the Ethiopians. And the old myths of race are kept alive to hurt and impede the rising power of the working class. But in America, where race prejudice is so strong, already we have learned that the lies of race mean continued oppression and poverty and fear—and now Negroes and white sharecroppers in the cotton fields of the South are beginning to get together; and Negro and white workers in the great industrial cities of the North under John L. Lewis and the C. I. O. have begun to create a great labor force that refuses to recognize the color line. Negro and white stevedores on the docks of the West Coast of America have formed one of the most powerful labor unions in America. Formerly, the unorganized Negro dockworkers—unorganized because the white workers themselves with

(Continued on Page 4.)



to hold political office. In some sections freedom of movement is greatly hindered, especially if we happen to be sharecroppers on the cotton plantations of the South. All over America we know what it is to be refused admittance to schools and colleges, to theatres and concert halls, to hotels and restaurants. We Negro writers know what it is

REMEMBER THIS?



On the old Jarama front.

To the English-Speaking Comrades of the International Brigades

In saying farewell to you (for a time only) there is little I can say which I have not said many times before. But one thing I must add, my heartfelt thanks for the help given me and for the comradeship I received. Boys, my work was made easy, that's the solid truth. My job was a simple one, of course, to try to break down that isolation from Spanish events which many comrades have felt so keenly. All of you, or the great majority of you, had active political lives in the States and in England. You were part of the active, creative movement in your countries, and so came to Spain. Though you are taking the most vital of all roles, you still feel cut off from the significant background of Spanish life. Mine was not a difficult job, because Spain has been my country long enough for me to love garlic and to revel in olive oil (hence this troublesome waistline, I suppose). In fact the only thing I can't stand about the States is its food; not enough oil, spice, rice or mule meat and beans.

But what gave me a kick was the way the comrades took the dope. Real attention, and damn good questions, and more than that, the boys wanted no easy solutions, no sloppy generalizations, but were eager to understand the real and enormous complications of the Spanish Popular Revolution. I like talking about Spain anyway, and for want of an audience sometimes practise on myself. I expect you guessed that.

Whether I succeeded in giving all the information that was wanted I do not know. But I think many were satisfied, for sometimes I got the sincerest form of thanks, a good swinging backhanded compliment, right in the jaw. One comrade earned my affection (and I mean it) by saying, "Comrade Bates, after listening to that, I'm damned if I can see how an intelligent guy like you could write such a long-winded, silly, stupid book as you did!" In the first place that shows he was on good terms with me, that guy, and that's what I always wanted; and in the second, well

honest opinions are good for swelled heads (the common fault of writers). But really, I could see, he was saying, "Thank you, comrade; that was the works!"

with the Mac-Paps, particularly the one when the cooks wouldn't give me any coffee, and the Ukrainians sang like red angels.

SUMMING UP

EVENINGS OF COMRADESHIP

There are many events I shall always remember, the

If I had to sum up in one paragraph what I have always tried to say, it would be this: Boys, never forget you are in



«Non interventionists»; «Suppose we knock off for the summer, boys».

TOO MUCH OF RACE

(Continued from page 3.)

their backward ideology didn't want Negroes in their unions—formerly these Negro workers could break a strike. And they did. But now, together, both Negroes and whites are strong. We are learning.

THEY FEAR US

Why is it that the British police seize Raj Anand's passport? Why is it that the State Department in Washington delays unduly in granting me permission to go to Spain as a representative of the Negro press? Why is it that the young Negro leader, Angelo Herndon, was finding it most difficult to secure a passport this spring in New York? Why? We know why!

It is because the reactionary and Fascist forces of the world know that writers like Anand

and myself, leaders like Herndon, and poets like Guillen and Roumain represent the great longing that is in the hearts of the darker peoples of the world to reach out their hands in friendship and brotherhood to all the races of the earth. The Fascist know that we long to be rid of hatred and terror and oppression, to be rid of conquering and of being conquered, to be rid of all the ugliness of poverty and imperialism that eats away the heart of civilization today. We represent the end of race. And the Fascists know that when there is no more race, there will be no more capitalism, and no more war, and no more money for the munitions makers—because the workers of the world will have triumphed.

LANGSTON HUGHES

moonlit night on the Jarama front when the fascists suddenly put an end to questions with a piece of rudeness characteristic of fascists; or perhaps it was the olive trees, for by the time I got back from the Battalion armory with a rifle, it was all over. Or again, I shall always remember the lecture place in the English Battalion, with its machine gun post just above. By the way, after the poor efforts of the American boys, it was pleasant to hear a little good English blasphemy. And a certain night at the Auto Park, beneath the trees, and the canteen afterwards, and Bunny cheering us up with sad songs. (Though the limit in songs was reached by the Lincoln boys, who could shame any journalist or commercial traveller.) Grand evenings, full of human health, and—why not say it—a comradeship such as I have rarely experienced, and by Christ, comradeship is one

of the biggest compensations for the hard work our movement gives us. And I shall remember, too, my meetings

a country that is still struggling out of feudal conditions, and that not every Spaniard sees which way to get out of feudalism. Never expect a degree of organization and smooth working you would expect of an English or American proletariat, therefore. If you remember this, you will be as amazed as I am at the distance we have covered and take fresh confidence and courage. Any comrade who can't see this has just forgotten his theoretical dope, that's the truth.

And finally, I'm going to the States, and there I'll try to do the same I set out to do here. I promise to send over news about each city I visit and about each section of the movement I come in contact with. And, of course, to pep up the cigarets and chocolate wallahs. I guess you guys can permit one boast as a parting shot. I never gave a single pep-talk. Any man who denies this can choose his weapons mine's a hatchet.

Salud.

RALPH BATES

ANARCHISM IN LEGALITY

The Iberian Anarchist Federation has long been the strongest section of the International Workingmen's Association. In fact, nowhere but Spain has the Anarchist movement had first-rate importance. In the course of a year of popular defense against Fascism, the F. A. I. has made many adjustments to legal conditions and to the popular revolution. Nevertheless, its fundamental structure remained that of an illegal organization, or as the Anarchists put it, a movement that lived "above rather than beyond the law". "Affinity groups" were the basic cell. In other words, small conspiratorial groups, conforming to the Anarchist faith in a few determined men rather than the great masses less capable of quick action. The fundamental approach of the Anarchists, a year after the military-clerical-Fascist rising was still that of a hunted, persecuted, opposition movement. Yet the anarcho-syndicalists had early elected to participate in Government, and the libertarians often claimed a majority of the armed workers of Spain. At length the F. A. I., which has always provided the political direction for the C. N. T., decided to change its articles of faith and organic structure.

CHANGES IN STRUCTURE

"The groups that served as basic cells of the F. A. I.", explains a sort of long preamble to the new Constitution,

"are not sufficiently flexible at the present moment, although they performed an important historic mission and were well-suited to epochs of underground work". Therefore the Constitution provides for village groups or branches, district branches in cities, federations of branches and, for strictly political work, provincial federations



following prevailing provincial bounds. The higher organs are the Regional Federations and the Iberian Anarchist Federation binding them together.

Behind this unexciting structural reform lies a complete revision of the Anarchist articles of faith. In the first place, the F. A. I. frankly acknowledges the need of building a mass party and of providing direction for the Revolution. "If we aspire to have the masses accompany us and endorse the transformation we propose, etc..." It is quite evident that the lessons of a year of popular Revolution have overcome the objections of the Anarchists to a great many

political principles. For instance, they long combatted the building of a mass party in campaigns opposing proselytism, and they criticized the Communist Party's "directorship political line" as tending toward hegemony and dictatorship. Now they frankly state: "The Revolution must be oriented and directed... The F. A. I., to be concrete, has its hands on the powerful levers of a Revolution." But there is an even greater break with the past in this little discussed document. The Constitution calls unmistakably for stern discipline and a single party line!

SIGNIFICANT DECISION

Those who recall the Anarchist posters calling for the organization of indiscipline, will have some hint of the internal revolution this decision symbolizes. Individual Anarchists had to break with their friends, in the past, if they agreed with the Communists on this point. The late Durruti, in exile in Paris, told his friend Romero: "I shall be 'for' discipline if the Revolution comes in Spain". Romero himself says he then disagreed but in the course of the war realized that Durruti was right. Now the F. A. I. has come the whole theoretic way on this point:

"The F. A. I. must give its movement a new structure accepting the practices that are necessary to achieve victory and that are demanded by the special conditions in which the war and revolution place us. Subordinated individually and collectively to our supreme aim. We must be coherent, disciplined and daring in action, and in order, that that action may take form and crystalize in results achieved, the F. A. I. must have a uniform political line that embraces all aspects of social and political life, so that it may anticipate 'how' it will act at any moment and in any circumstances."

OPEN POLITICAL PARTY

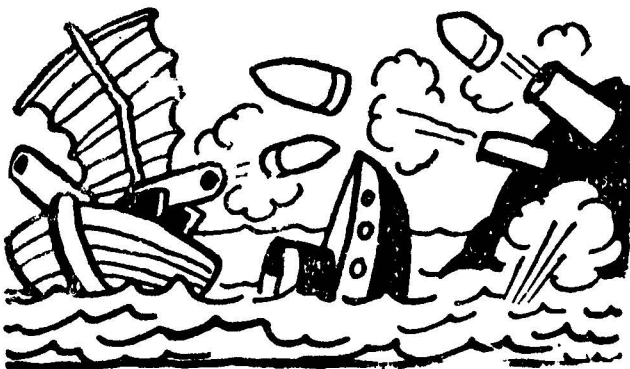
What has happened? In effect the F. A. I. has constituted itself into an open political party, aspiring to guide the masses, "open a single channel and direct events in a single direction", namely, the direction of Libertarian Communism. It has made this decision because the popular Revolution changed everything. There is even the suggestion that the F. A. I. realizes it has been slow to adjust:

"In the economic order, the F. A. I. recognizes that Spain is living through a period of profound transformation. Feudal property in land surviving since time immemorial tends rapidly to give way to collective



BLUEBEARD: "E demand recognition as a belligerent."

property, thereby destroying the major historic bulwark of Spanish capitalism... On the other hand, great industrial enterprises likewise tend to assume a collective character, thereby fundamentally changing the character of the national economy." That changes the relations of the Anarchists to their environment. "We who fought tirelessly yesterday against a condition of tyranny and injustice, today stand at the side of the new institutions arisen from the Revolution as the expression of the deepest desires of the masses..."



A CHILDRENS'S HOME

MIRACLES STILL POSSIBLE

G. M.

When the volunteers see the children they remember that they too have children. Because of this the home is always full of Volunteers who do all they can to look after the kids and make them happy.

1927 **1937**
AUGUST 22nd
~ ~ ~
NICOLA SACCO
and
BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI
Legally Murdered
by American Reaction
~ ~ ~
WE DO NOT FORGET

TERROR-STRICKEN

THE I. B. ARRIVES

The Comrades of the International Brigades soon began

MARIA P. DE ECROYA

LETTERS from HOME

From the Editor of the
New Masses

Dear E.,

...The New Masses is already sending several hundred copies regularly to the International Brigade. However, I am suggesting to the circulation department that an additional batch be sent to you for distribution to the MacKenzie-Papineau boys.

Spain continues to be the big issue here. We feel the impact of the struggle in various walks of life. In Hollywood funds are raised by progressive actors and writers for one or another of the Spanish committees. On the San Francisco waterfront you can see slogans in the trade-union halls calling for support of Spanish democracy. Naturally every word about Spain is read with the greatest of interest, and I am looking forward to the article you promised us by a member of the Loyalist army...

...I want to write you a much longer letter than this, but this is my first day back in the office after a three-weeks' tour



and I am only now catching up with my work, so this brief salutation will have to do for the moment. However, there's one thing I want to add:

I made a visit to San Quentin and talked with Tom Mooney for about three-quarters of an hour. He reads everything he can about Spain and his heart is with you fellows. What a grand guy! After 21 years he is still full of courage and fight, confident of the justice of his own cause and of the



Our Fellow antifascists in China.

future of the working class. It was an inspiration to see him.

Write me again soon and if you get the chance, make it a long, detailed letter all about your outfit and yourself.—Saludos!—JOSEPH FREEMAN, New York, July 15, 1937.

★

Dear A.,

...Of course the struggle in Spain is very close to all of us here and it is easy to conclude that more and more people are becoming interested as they realize the significance of the battle between democracy and reaction. At the moment democracy seems to be in the saddle here. The LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee is turning up some spectacular (and to the innocents, unsuspected) facts. The Wagner Act is, for the time, functioning in favor of the workers. Politicians, emboldened by the successes of their own daring confreres, begin to talk more and more like militant friends of labor. The list of strikes called and strikes won is too long for the newspapers to print entire... Truly, people of like interests are being drawn together as they sense the struggle that is taking place and its imminent threat to themselves.

For instance: near us is a summer camp leased by the Sociedad Naturista Hispana, whose acquaintance I made last year, a proletarian group similar to the German Natur Freunde. Although there are many anti-fascist comrades among them, they were not able last season to sponsor any anti-fascist activity because of differences among their membership. Last year, too, we found them only vaguely conscious of events in Spain and their significance, as they read almost no English papers and their Spanish ones were coming rarely and very late. But the course of the war has awakened them. They have progressed a long way toward unity in the last ten months. Now they are able openly to espouse the cause of Loyalist Spain and to work in its support. On Sunday the camp will be filled with banners reading "No Fasaran" and with the emblems of the various proletarian organizations of Spain. There will be a big fiesta and hundreds of guests will come to hear the latest accounts of the heroism of Spain's defenders and to contribute what they can to their support. This... is a picture in miniature of what is happening all over the country on a much grander scale...—A. S., Staten Island. N. Y., July 22, 1937.

70,000 SILK WORKERS THREATEN TO STRIKE

The possibility of a national silk workers strike in the U. S. increased when it was decided to present an agreement to the silk manufacturers. Unless the agreement is signed, the Textile Workers Organization Committee, affiliated with C. I. O., will call the strike.

The Union demands are: A weekly increase of 10 to 20 per cent, a minimum weekly wage of 18 dollars for weavers, a weekly minimum of 15 dollars for auxiliary help, and the 40 hour week.

All silk mills in New England, Pennsylvania and New Jersey will be affected. Expectations are for a short strike, because several manufacturers have already agreed to sign new contracts.

160,000 BRITISH SHIP BUILDING WORKERS ASK HOLIDAYS WITH PAY

Claims for holidays with pay for 160,000 workers employed in the shipbuilding industry are now before the Employer's Federation. It is expected that a meeting with the unions concerned will be arranged at an early date.

Another matter debated by the workers is that of secur-



ing union rights for young apprentices. The importance of securing this has been glaringly demonstrated by disclosure of wage rates and working conditions made during the recent big strikes on the Clyde and at other ports.

The militancy of the young apprentices came as an unwelcome surprise to the employers, who were forced to a settlement of the strike. With this as a precedent, and backed by the militancy of the apprentices, the unions are in a strong position to fight the issue.

WHEN THE WORKERS TAKE A HAND

"Aldus-Artes Gráficas, directed by a Workers' Council"—I noticed this heading on the notepaper of the printers whom I had approached with regard to a pamphlet for the Flemish Volunteers.

It was this heading which gave me the idea of finding out exactly what a Consejo Obrero — a Workers' Council — meant in Madrid.

I had already seen how the workers manage their own factories, etc., in the Soviet Union. But those Russian workers already had years of experience behind them. The Spanish workers have only had a few months in circumstances which have been exceptionally difficult, especially in Madrid.

The letter which the printers had sent me gave a clear and detailed statement of the prices and the time necessary for the work, and I at once got the impression that the undertaking was under good management.

WITH THE PRESIDENT

In the office, where only one man was employed, I met the President of the Consejo Obrero, a worker about 40 years old. He told me that he had been a member of the Spanish Socialist Party for 17 years. His job is to combine a technical knowledge of printing with a thorough understanding of the sentiments and needs of the working-class, and he knows it well, for he has had long years of trade union and political activity.

In answer to my questions, he told me that the Aldus printing works is one of the best equipped in Madrid. It has a linotype machine together with 3 large printing presses, and an automatic machine for printing in an unusual American color type. The business had previously belonged to Germans, but they had cleared out as soon as they saw that the Fascist coup on July 18th had been completely throttled in Madrid.

Unfortunately for themselves the German owners had formed an anonymous Spanish company, with the result that

after their departure the printing establishment passed into the control of the Trade Union, and with the help of the Union the printers formed their own Workers' Council which has been managing the concern successfully for months.

SHORTAGE OF PAPER

There is always work for them and there would be more if it were not for the great shortage of paper due to the

WALL NEWSPAPER

The wall newspaper is there — not very well looked after — but there all the same. There are portraits of Azafra and ~~and~~, and only one slogan but that full of meaning: "Now we work joyfully for we are helping to build a new civilisation". And this is true, for it is with real enthusiasm that the Aldus workers print the Anti-Fascist publications of the Campesino

a permanent bond of unity among them.

I shall never forget what the typographer told me while he was setting up a page:

"Every time I pick up this type (it was of German origin), I remember my German boss who was one of that gang which combined slave-driving with spying and started the Civil War. But today we are using that same German type to help to win the final victory and to drive out the slave drivers for ever."

Like printers elsewhere, the Madrid printers are politically and intellectually advanced & they are in the forefront of a progressive movement.

They have their own Battalion of "Gráficos" at the front, which together with their Workers' Councils in the rear, is helping to defend the Republic.

A. H.



The Tight-rope artist.

war. The number of employees has increased from 16 to 25 and among them there are two girls and four young workers of about 18.

The old works have become too small and the Workers' Council is looking forward to a change of premises soon, which will make it possible to increase the size of the concern. The financial assistance which will be necessary for this will come not from the banks, which in that way would be able to get control of the works, but from the Printers' Union which helps and controls every printing establishment managed by a Workers' Council.

Let us take a look at the printing works. Automatically I glance at the walls, which in the Soviet Union are a proof in themselves of the change of system, with their banners, slogans and wall newspapers. I wonder whether I shall see the same in Madrid.

Brigade. And they were proud to begin the printing of their first pamphlet for the International Brigades: "Flemish Volunteers in the Fight for Liberty".

It was just after the fall of Bilbao, when the Fascist planes were once again trying to bomb Madrid. It was inspiring to see these workers carrying on at their job while the explosions sometimes shook the whole building, and the roar of the Fascist planes overhead together with the bursting of our anti-aircraft shells, made the strangest of concerts.

UNITY OF WORK

The printers differ among themselves on political. Among them there are Socialists, Communists and Anarchists, but they never become involved in futile quibbling arguments, for their workshop and their common welfare are now

MEXICAN OIL WORKERS WIN

18,000 Mexican oil workers won several demands following a 12-days strike.

Their gains include a wage increase of 32 per cent, instead of a 15 per cent offer by the employers, and the 40 hour week. The total wage increase will amount to 7,200,000 yearly.

The oil companies are filing "objections".

LONDON.—A lightning strike of the haulage lads took place at Denaby Main Colliery, Yorkshire, where 12,000 men are employed.

Grimthorpe Colliery, near Barnsley, employing 2,500 men and boys, continue on strike arising out of a dispute over a recently revised price list affecting the Parkgate and Beamshaw seams.

The miners employed at Frickley are watching events at Grimthorpe with greatest interest as negotiations for a price list in the Barnsley seam at the pit are in progress.



The VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY

Organ of the international brigades ★

Vol. I - N.° 12

Madrid, August 30 - 1937

DRIVE FOR UNIFIED PARTY SPREADS

Valencia.—A great campaign is taking place in favour of the formation of a single proletarian party by the fusion of the Socialist and Communist Parties. Meetings are being held in all parts of Government Spain which are crowded with enthusiastic audiences despite the great heat. This campaign really represents the intensification and speeding of a trend which has existed for a considerable time here. In the early days of the uprising the, numerically, rather small Socialist and Communist Parties of Catalonia decided that union was strength, and that their aims were fundamentally the same, and that the less division there was in the anti-fascist forces the better, and formed the P.S.U.C.—the Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia. Since then this party has strengthened and increased and has always worked for the closest understanding with and support of the rest of Spain. In June, 1936 the Socialist and Communist Youth of the rest of Spain united to form the J. S. U.—the Unified Socialist Youth.

Meetings are being held in Barcelona, Madrid, Valencia, and various other towns in which speakers from the P. S. U. C., the J. S. U., and the Socialist and Communist Parties of Spain are taking part.

STRESS CATALONIA'S ROLE

In Barcelona, on August 5th, where Juan Comorera, secretary of the P. S. U. C. and minister in the Generalidad, spo-

ke (in Catalan, which I unfortunately was unable to follow), and Jesus Hernandez, Minister of Education in the Valencia Government, the slogans with which the hall was blazoned were "Catalonia cannot be free if the rest of Spain falls a victim to Fascism." "Spain cannot be free without the aid of Catalonia."

On August 8th, in Valencia,

I attended a meeting at which Comorera and Pasionaria were the speakers.

Comorera described the situation in Catalonia. The P. S. U. C. has now 60,000 members and the U. G. T. (socialist trade union) has over half a million members in Catalonia, that is to say, it has increased to a point where it has 100,000 more members than the C.N.T.

(syndicalists) which was formerly far more numerous. In comparison with the difficulties which had to be surmounted in Catalonia a year ago he suggested that the rest of Spain would not find it an impossible task to form a single workers' party. And he also stressed the absolute interdependence of the welfare of Catalonia with the rest of Spain.

WAR COMMISSAR DEL VAYO ON SPAIN'S IMMEDIATE NEEDS

The following extracts from the speech of Alvarez del Vayo, Commissar of War, delivered in Madrid last Sunday, should be of interest to all English-speaking members of the International Brigades.

★

Of all military leaders and of all the civilian authorities, the revolution asks two things: the first is that they believe wholeheartedly in the revolution and in the people. And first of all, that they believe in our victory. Saint Just used to say: "I fear only one thing: I fear the generals who do not believe in their victory." And then, in the great teachings of the French Revolution, so well understood by Lenin — synthesized in the one short sentence which was the whole message of Robespierre to the French Army in Italy: "The Republic cannot be defeated".

From the very beginning we saw that one of our most important tasks was the formation of a powerful war industry. To possess such an industry is in itself an achievement of great importance, because it increases the international importance of the country. It also means the reduction of the national deficit. In addition, it supplies the necessary arms to the Army and lessens the fears and anguish concerning shipments, always the possible victims of fascist piratical prowess, constantly cruising outside of our jurisdictional waters.

(Continúa en la pág. 2.)

PASIONARIA SPEAKS

Then Dolores Ibarruri, La Pasionaria, who is a deputy to the Cortes, rose to speak. Every seat in the hall was filled. Between 2 and 3,000 people were present.

The welcome she received was most moving. But when you see her in person the extraordinary influence over and popularity with the masses which she enjoys is very understandable. She is rather tall and strongly built, is handsome and dignified in a typical Spanish way. Her brown eyes express sympathy and compassion.

Her black hair, with a few silver threads in it is done in a plain knot at the back of the head. She dresses simply in black. Her face in repose is sad but is lit up by a charming smile. Her position in public life does not prevent her from being a truly womanly and motherly figure. Her personality is so remarkable and her voice so thrilling that even people unable to understand Spanish have been much moved on seeing and hearing her.

(Continúa a página 2.)

DRIVE FOR UNIFIED PARTY

She spoke of the wonderful strides that have been made in the training and organization of the People's Army. She referred with great tenderness and feeling to a recent visit to the fronts of Madrid and the splendid spirit of the soldiers there with whom she conversed. She then spoke of the necessity of organizing the rear guard as efficiently as the Army. She said that all of us must be prepared to make sacrifices so that the soldiers shall not want for anything. That the reception and care of refugees is a duty but it is not the whole duty of the citizen behind the lines. She urged the necessity of abolishing equal salaries which benefit the lazy workman at the expense of the in-

dustrious one and establishing a scale by which workers will be paid according to the value and quantity of their work and which will act as an incentive in industry. She ended by urging the unification of the two parties as indispensable for a speedy victory over Fascism and the invaders of Spain. The anti-fascists must form a monolith for united action and responsibility.

The speech of Vicente Uribe (in Madrid) echoed the same sentiments but he, as Minister of Agriculture, suggested that the severest treatment should be meted out to speculators and food profiteers, and rendered homage to the splendid work and solidarity of the peasants.



War Commissar Alvarez del Vayo.

DEL VAYO ON SPAIN'S IMMEDIATE NEEDS

We ask an active participation in the organization and in the rapid functioning of our transport system, as well as coordination and planning of the economic life of our country. After a year of war we are still compelled to use bitter words against the passivity of certain rearguard elements and the shameless way in which they are forever bargaining on their efforts and collaboration in the great work of liberation.

We demand an inexorable policy in the rear, not only

for the purpose of securing order, but also for the purpose of drawing actively into the war whole regions, cities and villages. Persuasion has its limits. It is now many months since we have published and multiplied our appeals for solidarity against fascism to the conscience of our people. We must end this scandalous situation, in which an unequal participation in the war is possible. It is necessary to be done with this convenient theory of the division of labor, in which some die to win the war and others live to exploit the victory.

The Strengthening of The Popular Front. It is abundantly evident that those who in 1935 were advocating the revolutionary policy of the Popular Front were correct. Those who did not study the question deeply accused the defenders of the Popular Front of being opportunists and bunglers. What would have happened had the July rebellion surprised us without the vigorous policy of the Popular Front, which in one day succeeded

in uniting and mobilizing all the anti-fascist forces in the fight for the defense of the nation and for liberty. As long as the war lasts there can be no other policy than that of the Popular Front. It is the unifying center of all the anti-fascist forces; it is the central point in which all can fight under the same flag without being compelled in any way to abandon the ideology of one's party. Support the Popular Front...

I favor a Unified Party... I once again insist that to achieve victory we must have an active regrouping of all the authentically anti-fascist forces, without any exclusions.

The other day, in Valencia, I declared myself in favor of the participation of the CNT in the task of leading the destinies of the nation. But I added: That is to enter the government, but on condition that the whole organization participates unanimously in the work of carrying out all the decisions that are made.

Participation in the Cabinet demands the loyal collaboration not only of those in the Government, but also of those behind them, who follow their organization. When an organization has representatives in the government, and when the decisions of the government are not completely satisfactory to this organization's followers, it is impermissible for these followers merrily to take the liberty of changing the policy of the government with the excuse that their policy is more revolutionary and correct.

The Unified Party is on the march, and nothing can stop its realization... Socialists and Communists in the Party units, in the shops and factories, where you fight and where you live, work for the Unified Party.

ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

We Must Help Our Comrades in the North

The battle is raging fiercely in the North of Spain.

Once again Mussolini has flung the forces of Italian invasion against the Spanish people, against the brave soldiers of Santander and Asturias. Once again Hitler and Mussolini are bringing shame on the German and Italian peoples by invading Spanish soil and slaughtering, from the height of their "Junkers" and "Capronis", the defenceless population in the North, the women and children of Santander and Asturias.

The Fascist newspapers cynically admit that Italian Divisions are fighting in the North, that the well-armed "banderas" of Blackshirts have been sent to massacre the unarmed population in the mountains around Santander.



The soldiers of Asturias and Santander are fighting with stubborn and unyielding courage against the Italian invaders, fighting to bar the way to the foreigners, to Fascism, to slavery. The Blackshirt Divisions have hoisted Mussolini's flag on a few positions, but how much Italian blood, how many corpses these victories have cost them!

OUR DUTY IS CLEAR

In this tragic hour for our Spanish brothers, the duty of the true sons of the Italian and German peoples, the duty of all the peoples who love freedom is the duty which is made clear by the heroism and the splendid spirit of solidarity of the International Volunteers for Liberty.

The Volunteers for Liberty have fought on many fronts. On many fronts they have hel-

ped the Spanish people to bar the way to the Fascists, to defeat them, to put them to flight.

From the Jarama to Guadalajara, from University City to Brunete, to Villanueva del Pardillo; everywhere the courage of the International Volunteers has routed Fascism, has defeated the Blackshirts.

further steps on the road to the victory of Republican Spain.

CALL ALL FORCES

This proves more than ever that the path of implacable struggle is the only path to be followed to fight and defeat

We must close our ranks, overcome our weakness, resist and advance.

We must help our brothers in the North. We must save the women and children of Santander from massacre.

If we help our comrades in the North we are helping Republican Spain, we are helping the fighters for liberty, we are helping the International Volunteers who are the noblest expression of a magnificent international solidarity.

We help to save the women and children of Santander from massacre by strengthening international solidarity in all fields: in the sphere of the volunteers and in that of assistance.

We help our comrades in the North by fighting the Fascists



on all fronts with more courage than ever. The International Brigades have already given their help by fighting in the Centre Front. They are ready to fight wherever the Higher Command gives the order. They will continue to fight and to conquer on all fronts, overcoming all obstacles, resisting all dangers, rising above all the hardness of the struggle.

That is the price of victory.

Victory, which is not only the victory of Republican Spain, but the victory of all the peoples who are for freedom, who are against war, and who do not want to feel the iron heel of Fascism on themselves and their country, and the victory of all peoples who want to win their freedom, and for this aim, for this victory, are ready to shed their last drop of blood.

Let us go forward united to that victory.

LUIGI GALLO

In Memory of our fallen leaders

AMERICAN

OLIVER LAW.—Commander, Lincoln Battalion.

MORRIS WICKMAN.—Company Political Commissar.

HARRY HYNES.—Company Political Commissar (Both of Washington Battalion).

CANADIAN

STUART (Paddy) O'NEILL.—Sergeant, Lincoln Battalion.

ENGLISH

GEORGE NATHAN.—Major, 15th Brigade.

CHARLES GOODFELLOW.—Second-in-Command, English Battalion.

BILL MEREDITH.—Commander, No. 2 Company, English Battalion.

BOB ELLIOT.—Company Political Commissar.

NOTE: Articles on the life and death of these and other fallen members of the International Brigades will appear in future issues of "The Volunteer for Liberty."

During the last weeks the International Brigades have once again written one of the finest pages in the history of the armed struggle against slavery and for freedom. The victorious offensive of the Republican Army on the Central Front in which the International Volunteers took part, the unconquerable resistance to the Fascist counter-attacks are

Fascism, slavery and barbarism.

The struggle is hard. Fascism is still strong, strong through the support of all the most reactionary forces in all countries, strong through the weakness of democracy.

We must call to our aid all the forces of the friends of peace, of humanity, civilisation and progress.

AMERICAN HOSPITALS IN SPAIN

The American Hospital Group is a part of the International Sanitary Service organized to aid the duly constituted government of Spain. This service, which is of great magnitude, is an expression of international solidarity with the Spanish people.

The role of the International Sanitary Service is a new historical phenomenon. Never before in the history of mankind have so many representatives of different nationalities joined to aid a people in their struggle against invaders who are attempting to destroy their freedom, rights and liberties. Twenty-two nationalities are represented in the International Sanitary Service aiding in the struggle.

The magnitude of the work of the International Sanitary Service in Spain can best be realized by noting the following:

HOSPITAL FIGURES

The personnel consists of 220 doctors and surgeons, 550 nurses, 600 ambulance drivers, stretcher bearers and first aid men.

There are 25 hospitals in this service with a capacity of over 5,000 beds. There are 14 surgical groups. There are 150 ambulances which can transport, at one time, between 700 and 800 wounded when necessary.

Our American Hospital Group plays one of the most important and prominent roles in the work of the International Sanitary Service. The American Hospital Group was successfully organized and developed under the guidance of Dr. Edward Barsky, and further maintained under the capable direction of Dr. Donald H. Pitts. At present both are in the United States continuing their work against fascism by popularizing the work of the American Hospital groups in Spain.

The growth of the American Hospital Group has been a continuous one; and since I have taken charge of the entire group, two more hospitals ha-

ve been added to our number. Some of our American hospitals are in the Madrid sector, and these played an extremely important role in the last drive. Our Southern Hospital Groups are well equipped and manned, and doing their share to make the American Hospitals exemplary in Spain.

AFTER LAST OFFENSIVE

But now to the recent activities around Madrid and the part played by our hospitals. For one full month our surgeons, nurses, ambulance drivers and stretcher bearers have worked continuously. We

had our forces so divided that we participated in all the phases of surgical aid to the wounded, starting from the front lines, to the Evacuation Hospital, and finally to our Base Hospitals. We had surgical teams operating in the front line hospitals where the most serious cases were operated upon, such as gunshot wounds through the belly and brain. At this hospital, transfusions were given frequently, using the new system of "canned" blood.

The activity at these front line hospitals was most intense and the number of wounded pouring in so great that

numerous surgical teams were kept busy with practically no time for sleep. The nurses, too, in these front line hospitals were put through an exhaustive test. Let me say here that the nurses, even though working under constant aerial bombardment, performed their duties with such efficiency that they are an example and a credit to the entire nursing profession.

SERVICE UNDER FIRE

The ambulance drivers and stretcher bearers performed meritorious service under the very same fire that our boys in the front line trenches had

OUR OWN "MEN IN WHITE"



Scenes in Our American Hospitals.

WITH OUR AMERICAN HOSPITALS

to contend with. All sections of our personnel forfeited their personal needs, such as food and sleep, in order to give all that was humanly possible to aid the victims of the vicious fascist aerial bombardment. Nor was the bombardment limited to the front lines, for close to our Hospital and in the surrounding territory, the fascist planes dropped bombs of a different type. These were flame bombs which set fire to the surrounding fields and villages. It was only a miracle that our Hospital escaped a direct hit by one of these flame bombs dropped from the black "Caproni" planes. One of these bombs I personally inspected after it had done its damage and saw the stamp on the cap that revealed its German origin.

One of our hospital groups played an effective role in evacuating the wounded to our Base Hospitals. Evacuation is one of the most important phases of caring for the wounded, and even though unheralded, supplies that link in the chain of military hospitals without which no hospital system can function. It is this phase of the work that showed the need for more ambulances. Ambulances are the backbone of transportation from the lines to the front hospitals, and then later to the base hospitals. There can be no limit to the number of ambulances needed, because the more ambulances available the quicker the wounded can be transported to the hospital for opera-

tion. Early operation often means the difference between the life and death of the wounded soldier.

EVACUATION WORK

Even though we had to organize our evacuation unit very rapidly, it functioned most



Dr. IRVING BUSCH, Chief Surgeon and Commandant of all the American hospitals in Spain.

smoothly. Our base hospitals, which are always prepared, began to receive wounded in large numbers. A tremendous load was thrust suddenly upon our doctors and nurses who had to work indefatigably to keep pace with the increasing number of wounded. Very soon the base hospitals were working at full capacity. There was no time for rest. Both doctors and nurses took their tasks in stride cheerfully. Many of them had been through similar experiences. These base hospitals continue to be filled with patients who are well on their way to recovery.

I can offer nothing but praise for the doctors and nurses who carry on these exhaustive duties, lightened only by the thought that they are doing their share in the anti-fascist struggle.

The volume of the work done by part of the American Hospital Group can be appreciated only by actual figures:

During the past month, more than 2,500 wounded have been treated by us in our hospitals, and our American sur-

geons have performed over 1,000 operations of varied types.

The statistics also reveal a true picture of our aid to the Spanish people. Of all the wounded treated by us, 80 percent are Spanish, and the remaining 20 percent Internationals. Since all the American wounded pass through our hospital chain, we can definitely say that the number of Americans wounded in this last attack was comparatively very small.

COMMON INTEREST

The common interest in this great anti-fascist struggle, which the Spaniards and the Internationals fighting side-by-side in the front lines feel, is carried back to the hospitals. The wounded who are brought to the hospital on different days report the progress of battle up to the time they were put out of action. All the boys are eager to hear the news, and their spirit reacts with the waxing and waning



of the fortunes of battle. It is difficult to restrain some of them from wanting to return to the lines, even though physically incapable, when they feel that their comrades are in need of their services. It is difficult to keep the convalescent soldiers at the hospitals; they are restless. "When do I go back to my battalion?" is the constant question. It is very common these days to see soldiers who have been wounded in different battles. Only when the soldier is so physically incapacitated that he

Indian Political Prisoners in Hunger Strike

Simla, India — One hundred and fifty three political prisoners confined in Deoli Prison Camp. About 80 kilometres from Nagpur, are on a hunger strike of solidarity with the 187 prisoners of the Andaman Island on a similar strike since the 24th. of July.

The prisoners ask:

1. The liberation of all political prisoners.
2. The abrogation of several restrictive laws and the annulment of the internment warrants.
3. The return to India of all political prisoners.

Coddling the Pirates

In spite of two notes of the British Government to Franco, demanding the release of the British cargo ship "Mon-ton", and of its crew, and also for indemnity for damages suffered by the ship or by its crew, Franco finds it convenient to sulk in complete silence. The fascists also claim that the "British Corporal" and other ships lately bombarded by fascist aviation were the victims of "Red" planes. This in spite of sworn statements by Danish control observers who witnessed the bombardment and declared that the planes were Italian.

cannot be of use in the front can we convince him to stay in the rear. Then he asks for work that will aid in the struggle. The spirit of the soldiers in the hospitals, as we see it, is so superb that we cannot see how an army of this nature can be defeated. With the progress of time, the hatred toward the fascists increases so intensely, that they will never be satisfied until the fascists are completely defeated.

DR. IRVING BUSCH



MODERN "REFUGIOS" FOR PEOPLE OF VALENCIA

Valencia is unpleasantly near the Fascist air bases in the Balearic islands. But exposed to both air and sea attack it was first shelled from the sea by the rebel cruisers "Balears" and "Canarias" and sometimes by night by ships of unknown nationality which stole up, popped a few shells of Italian manufacture into the town, and then made off. The first bombardments were in February but in anticipation of them the municipal authorities had ordered the construction of bomb-proof shelters throughout the city and harbour district. These were already under way but



after the bombardments the work was speeded up and rapidly brought to completion. At that time our only protection was a Government gunboat in the port — now there are not only the anti-aircraft batteries on the roofs which make an imposing and reassuring noise as soon as the sirens sound but the "refugios" as they are called in Spanish.



"Funny stink in Room 402, isn't there, Conchita?"

"Oh, that's the room Franco slept in one night six years ago!"



The Ministry of Public Works supplied all the material needed, the technical direction being undertaken by the City Hall. The materials used are steel, reinforced concrete, and layers of earth. Pedros, the official architect of the municipality, was put in charge of the work. After careful study he designed two models; one with a flat roof, well reinforced with steel girders; and the other with a vaulted roof. The advantage of the first is that it does not require as strong a foundation as the other type but the second model does not need as much steel in its construction. Both are equally strong. Pedros states that even a 500 kilogram bomb (the largest used by the Fascist aviation) dropped from a

height of 750 meters or more, will not penetrate such a roof.

The average "refugio" can hold 500 to 700 people. One has a capacity of 1,100 people. They are equipped with comfortable benches, electric fans, running water, toilets, first aid kits, etc., so that even a sojourn of several hours in them is no great hardship. There are two doors to facilitate entrance and they are kept scrupulously clean. There are now 41 "refugios" completed or near completion in Valencia and its port, duly posted with signs to indicate their whereabouts, so that most people can find one quickly not too far from their homes. Plans for the construction of more are under way so that the entire population can be accommodated if necessary.

It is curious to observe the care with which buildings destined to such a grim purpose have been decorated. One would expect them to be grey and forbidding but on the contrary they have quite an inviting appearance. The "Valencianos" have softened their severity by designing them in the modern style and painting them with bright colours inside and out, red, white, green, and blue. The floors are covered with shining tiles. Some of the guards attached to the shelters have even placed pots of flowers in the doorway.



WHO DID IT?

Valencia, August 25.—We are informed from Gibraltar that to celebrate the anniversary of the rebellion in La Línea de Concepcion a large monarchical flag was displayed on one of the most central buildings. After a short time it mysteriously disappeared and a republican one appeared in its place.



The Black Hat: "Goddammit, he many times do I have to tell y I don't wanna hear about furnished rooms for rent, all modern conveniences and hot running water!"

POLITICAL WORK AMONG THE 1937 RECRUITS



The recruiting of the 1937 draft is to begin shortly, and then the new soldiers will be sent to all Brigades.

The General Commissariat orders the Commissars of all ranks to begin immediately the preparatory work for the reception of the new recruits, and to lay the groundwork for the organisation of good political work among them.

In particular all Commissars are required to take the following steps:

1. To organise a reception for the new recruits on the day of their arrival, and in addition to arrange a series

of meetings in the Battalions and Companies between the soldiers and the newcomers. The new recruits should become familiar with the Brigade's tradition of struggle and with the tasks of the People's Army.

2. During the first days after the recruits' arrival, the Battalion Commissars should deliver talks in which the following questions will be explained:

- (a) Why is the Government's People's Army fighting?
- (b) Why are the generals and the rebel insurgents against the Government?
- (c) Why are the peasants interested in the victory of the People's Front?
- (d) Why are the workers

defending the Republic against Fascism?

(e) Why is our war a war of national independence?

(f) At the same time new soldiers should become familiar with the organisation of the People's Army and should understand why iron discipline and a good military training are necessary, and how the political and cultural work is organised in the Army.

3. From the first day of the arrival of the recruits the Brigade and Battalion Commissars, with the help of the Company Political Delegates, should carefully study the

composition of the new recruits to discover all the Fascist elements which may have penetrated into the ranks of the Army. It will be necessary to separate all these hostile elements from the units.

4. It will be necessary to make a list of all those recruits who are illiterate so that classes can be organised for them.

5. It will be necessary to arrange for the co-operation of the recruits in the production of the wall newspapers and the Brigade newspapers, and the same time they will also send their correspondence to "Vanguardia".

6. The Commissars at the

fronts, of the Army Corps, and Divisions, must constantly supervise the political work among the recruits and systematically inform the General Commissariat of the results of this work.

From VANGUARDIA
Official Organ of the
War Commissariat.

No Sea-bathing, Orders Gen. Franco

Gibraltar, August 27.—The number of refugees from the rebel zone is continually on the increase. More than a hundred have come over in the past week, many of them swimming across the bay of Algeciras, who tell of the crimes committed in rebel territory. On account of these numerous escapes the Franco "authorities" have prohibited sea bathing.

C. I. O. SIGNS UP 49 CAB OPERATORS IN NEW-YORK CITY

Shorter hours, closed shop and minimum wage guarantees were won for 10,000 cab drivers in New York City by the Transport Workers Union, a C. I. O. affiliate. The drivers also won a yearly vacation with pay of 25 dollars.



"He's a hereditary dope, just like Queipo de Llano."

N. Y. SHOE WORKERS VOTE FOR CIO

The workers in 91 shoe factories in Greater New-York voted for the C. I. O. as their official collective bargaining agency against the A. F. of L. by a vote of 6,802 to 690. The vote will affect 10,000 workers of the shoe industry in New York city. Only two shops remain under the jurisdiction of the A. F. of L. involving a total of 85 workers. In one of the shops the majority against the C. I. O. was so small that an appeal will be taken.

ENGLISH BASE HOSPITAL GETS ITS OWN FARM

Valencia (August 26).—The new English base hospital behind the Center front is setting up its own farm. They already possess a flock of sheep and five pigs. With a minimum of one hundred and fifty patients, and a domestic and medical staff to correspond, they find this more economical than buying meat daily. They hope to enlarge the farm within the next week.

As another step towards solving the food problem a system

care of the wounded and general work is being held up. Of course things are better than they were. We started work on this hospital with a transport section consisting of one small donkey. But we are still in urgent need of ambulances and trucks. Transport comes first on the list of things needed that we have sent to The Spanish Medical Committee in London. After that we have asked for clothes for the wounded, a new set of surgical instruments, sops, and cigarettes.



Goebbels. Nazi Loud-Speaker.

of barter has been started in the village. The English, well-supplied with sugar and dried beans, barter these in the village for all necessary fresh food, such as eggs and milk.

Developments in the hospital itself go on everyday. There is now an isolation wing, with its own kitchen, bathroom, etc. In addition to the X-Ray room a pharmacy has been installed. A disused building is being turned into a garage capable of housing twenty-five ambulances.



"We hope we'll have something to put in it when it's finished", says one of the doctors. "Our chief trouble at the moment is transport. Just now both



"The Great Miaja Leads Us On!"

Figures of the Earth

From "Campos de Soria"

Figures of the earth against the sky:
Two slow oxen patiently are plowing
On the dry hillock, as autumn begins.
And between the massive black heads, bowed down,
Beneath the heavy, oppressive yoke
A basket, woven of reeds and broom,
Hangs heavily, the cradle of the boy-child.
And behind the slowly-moving oxen
A man walks, bent earthward,
And a woman scatters, in the open furrows,
The life-giving seed.
Beneath a cloud of scarlet and flame,
In the fluid green and gold of the sun's descending,
The shadows loom like giants.

ANTONIO MACHADO

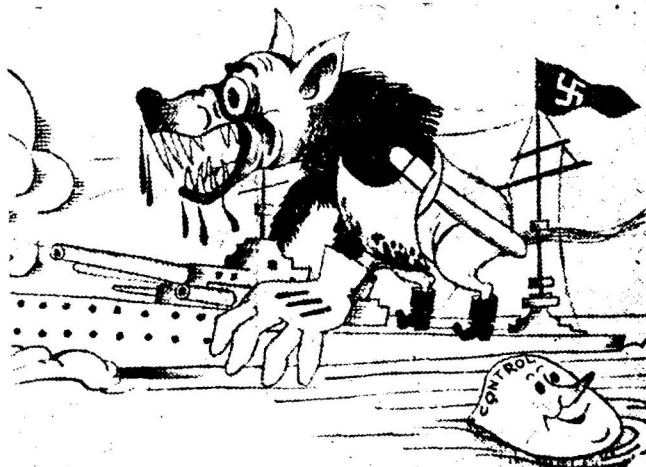
WON'T DO TO HURT THE MOORS' FEELINGS

Valencia, August 26.—As a delicate attention to the Moors brought to Spain by Franco and his generals to kill Spaniards, the iconography of the rebel zone has suffered a curious change. The severed heads of Mohammedans that are usually found in religious pictures of Saint James the Moorkiller under the hoofs of the horse ridden by the Saint have been painted out. Saint James the Moorkiller now rides a cloud instead of a prancing white horse.

LARGE PART OF RAILWAYS IN KAZAKHSTAN COMPLETED

Of the 210 mile- railway line from Rubstovka to Ridder, in Kazakhstan, which is to be completed in five months, 160 miles have already been laid. On this section, all the station buildings, pumps, power stations, clubs, schools and dwellings have been built.

The remaining 50 miles to Ridder will be the most difficult of the line. Here a way will have to be cut through the northern alpes of the Altai Mountain Range and 30,000,000 cubic feet of rock blasted and cleared away.





The VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY

organ of the international brigades



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MADRID - AFTER THREE YEARS

By Leland Stowe

Just a month ago I sailed from New York on my way back to Madrid, after an absence of three long years. I've been asked to tell what it feels like to return to Spain in the midst of a war which is both a civil war and a foreign invasion. To do that let me give you the contrasts which have swarmed upon me ever since I rode in from Valencia ten days ago.

I first came to Madrid in February, 1929. I was the Paris correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune at that time. There had been an unsuccessful revolt against the military dictator, Primo de Rivera. In the next six years I visited Spain often — just before the Republic and in its early years. My last journalistic visit was to report the popular uprising of October, 1934. Madrid was under martial law. The Civil Guards, as nervous as a bunch of raw recruits, were shooting at shadows — including their own! Pedestrians walked through the streets, always in the middle of the street, with their hands held above their heads — just so the guardians of the law would have no excuse for shooting them in the back. Yet there was no serious trouble in Madrid. The people's revolt against a reactionary anti-republican government had not been synchronized throughout the country, and it failed here before it began. Well, that was the Madrid that I saw last. A Madrid under martial law — nervous, tense and gloomy.

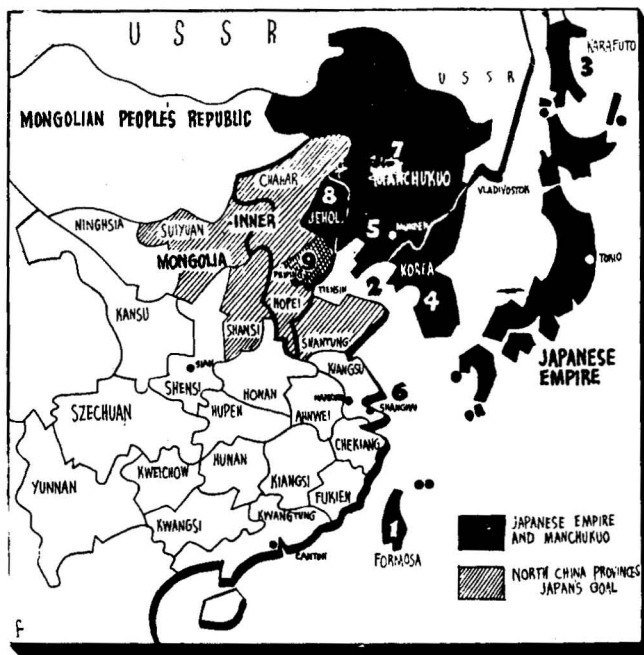
Ten days ago I came back to a Madrid which has had a powerful, mechanized army —

a large part of it composed of mercenaries and foreign fascists — hammering at its gates for nine long months! What did I find? I heard the guns booming on the outskirts of

the city, morning and night. But the people of Madrid were going about their affairs as calmly as if they were in St. Louis or San Francisco. There was no tenseness about the men and women on the streets, nor about the children skipping rope in the squares near the Puerta del Sol. There was no gloom in their faces, nor in the air. Why this amazing change in attitude? I think the reason is perfectly simple. In 1934 the cause of the common people of Spain had been defeated once more, as on so many countless times before in this nation's unhappy history. In August, 1937, the common people of Spain have shown a strength unprecedented in centuries of unequal struggle. Today they know that no army of Spaniards — I say *Spaniards* — is as powerful as their own. They are equally confident that the Italian and German Fascists, who constitute the backbone of Franco's rebel forces, cannot defeat them in the end. This is the spirit of Madrid, the bravest city in the world.

You will say, "Now don't get emotional on us!" No, I don't intend to get emotional either. I'll simply try to give you some of my own experiences and observations. First of all, there's a lot of talk in America and other foreign lands about *when* Madrid will fall. Most of it comes from people who know nothing about the Spanish people — and nothing about Madrid. Let me say right now that I've met a large number of foreign correspondents since I came here — and I haven't met a single newspaperman who

CHINA TODAY



Japan's march in China: 1. Formosa ceded to Japan in 1895. 2. Port Arthur and Kwantung Peninsula leased by Japan in 1905. 3. Karafuto ceded to Japan in 1905 by czarist Russia. 4. Korea annexed by Japan in 1910. 5. Mukden seized by Japan in 1931. 6. Shanghai bombarded by Japan in 1932. 7. Manchuria annexed by Japan as puppet state of "Manchukuo" in 1933. 8. Jehol province annexed by Manchukuo in 1933. 9. "East Hopei Autonomous Anti-Comintern Government" formed by Japan in 1935. The present invasion by Japan seeks to conquer the North China provinces of Hopei and Chahar, shown by the heavy black line. The Hopei-Chahar Political Council was formed in 1935 comprising Hopei province, except the twenty-two provinces held by the East Hopei "government", and part of Chahar, except that under de facto Japanese control. The shaded portion shows the five northern provinces, Hopei, Chahar, Shantung, Suiyuan, and Shansi, Japan's next goal.

(Continued on page 4.)

TWO ENGLISH COMRADES RETURN TO THE FIGHT

FRY AND RUTHERFORD UNDAUNTED DESPITE
LONG STAY IN FASCIST PRISON

The capture of a section of No. 2 Company was one of the severest blows suffered by the British Battalion in the early days of the Jarama action.



Employing the ruse of singing the "International" and advancing with anti-fascist salute towards our lines, the Moors succeeded in cutting off some 30 or 40 of our comrades, including comrades Fry and Renton, the company Commander and Political Commissar respectively.

The fate of these comrades was for long a matter of deep concern to us, and the anxiety was not lessened by press reports received later, to the effect that while some of the men had been shot immediately in being captured, or in resisting capture, others had been taken to rebel territory and imprisoned there. What then were our thoughts, we who know the torture and bestiality which is characteristic of the fascist treatment of prisoners; we who can never for-

get the concentration camps, the whip, and the axe; we who remember Thaelmann, Prestes and Rakosi?

On May 30th, twenty-three of those comrades arrived in London from the living tomb of fascism. They had been released in exchange for fascist prisoners held in Spanish Government territory, and the tale of their treatment was such that even a reactionary Tory M. P. said of them "They may be socialists and communists, but no British subject can be permitted to be treated as they have been treated".



In prison they were practically left to starve. Their wounds were unattended. They slept on the ground without straw or covering. The sanitary arrangements were the most primitive, and during all the months of their confinement they had no means at their disposal for a proper wash. Almost all fell ill with



Children playing on the pedestal of the statue of Dona Petronilla, first queen of Aragon, completely demolished by fascist shells. This photograph was taken directly in front of the former royal palace in Madrid.

SPANISH WORKERS LEARN MODERN PRODUCTION !!

VALENCIA (sept. 2).—The Ministry of Education is giving the workers of the war factories the chance to increase their efficiency by opening intensive courses in modern methods of production. The classes will be held in the factories after regular working hours, subsidized by the Ministry of Public Education. Teachers and equipment are furnished by the Ministry.

Spanish workers have shown remarkable technical capacity under the demands of war. Machinery has been remodelled to fill the necessities of war production. New machines have been devised and constructed. Engineers have been few. The workers have proved themselves inventive and fully capable of meeting the difficult war situation.

fever, others contracted lung trouble causing the deaths often of their number. The health of some of them has been permanently impaired.

Comrades Fry and Rutherford have now returned to the International Brigade. Last week they arrived in Albacete, more eager and more determined to fight against Fascism. Now, more clearly than ever, they realise the need for struggle. They KNOW fascism.

Comrade Fry was Commander of No. 2 Company and was captured with his section. He was wounded in the arm during the action, and his wound will remain a permanent ugly scar, due to the studied inattention of his fascist captors.

Comrade Rutherford was the youngest comrade in the section and at the time of his capture was only nineteen years of age. He could quite easily have remained in Britain, one of the heroic members of the British Battalion who had remained true and firm even in the prison of fascism. He chose to return to Spain, still young, but old in the anti-fascist struggle.

These two comrades are an inspiration to us and a credit to the whole International Brigade. We welcome them back as true and tried anti-fascist fighters, we welcome them as heroes of our glorious British Battalion.

A. D.

ROAR, CHINA!

Roar, China!
 Roar, old lion of the East!
 Snort fire, yellow dragon of the Orient,
 Tired at last of being bothered.
 Since when did you ever steal anything
 From anybody.
 Sleepy wise old beast
 Known as the porcelain-maker,
 Known as the poem-maker,
 Known as maker of firecrackers?
 A long time since you cared
 About taking other people's lands
 Away from them.
 THEY must've thought you didn't care
 About your own land either—
 So THEY came with gunboats,
 Set up Concessions,
 Zones of influence,
 International Settlements,
 Missionary houses,
 Banks,
 And Jim Crow Y. M. C. A.'s.
 THEY beat you with malaca canes
 And dared you to raise your head—
 Except to cut it off.
 Even the yellow men came
 To take what the white men
 Hadn't already taken.
 The yellow men dropped bombs on Chapei.
 The yellow men called you the same names
 The white men did:
 DOG! DOG! DOG!
 COOLIE DOG!
 RED! LOUSY RED!
 RED COOLIE DOG!
 And in the end you had no place
 To make your porcelain,
 Write your poems,
 Or shoot your firecrackers on holidays.
 In the end you had no peace
 Or calm left at all.
PRESIDENT, KING, MIKADO
 Thought you really were a dog.
THEY kicked your ass daily
 Via radiophone, via cablegram, via gunboats

by
**LANGSTON
 HUGHES**
 —
M A D R I D
AUGUST 29
1937



In the harbor, via malaca canes.
 THEY thought you were a tame lion,
 Sleepy, easy, tame old lion!
 Ha! Ha!
 Ha-aaa-aa-a!... Ha!
 Laugh, little coolie boy on the docks of Shanghai, laugh!
 You're no tame lion.
 Laugh, child slaves in the factories of the foreigners!
 You're no tame lion.
 Laugh—and roar, China!
 Time to spit fire!
 Open your mouth, old dragon of the East,
 To swallow up the gunboats in the Yantse!
 Swallow up the foreign planes in your sky!
 Eat bullets, old maker of firecrackers—
 And spit out freedom in the face of your enemies.
 Break the chains of the East, little coolie boy!
 Break the chains of the East, red generals!
 Break the chains of the East, child slave in the factories!
 Smash the iron gates of the Concessions!
 Smash the pious doors of the missionary houses!
 Smash the revolving doors of the Jim Crow Y.M.C.A.'s.
 Crush the enemies of land and bread and freedom!
 Stand up and roar, China!
 You know what you want!
 The only way to get it
 Is to take it!
 Roar, China!

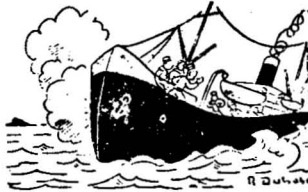
PROVOCATIONS AND PROVOCATIONS — As Seen by the Cartoonists



"Oh—so you won't let me in, eh?
 By god, that's provocation!"



Journalist: "Now I see what's
 happened: the rabbit provoked
 the hunter."



"Quick, boys, lower the boats!
 Mussolini has just issued another
 peace message!"



Mussolini (to Japan): "So, you
 too are going into this civilisa-
 tion business, I see."

MADRID — AFTER THREE YEARS

(Continued from page 1.) thinks that Madrid will ever be captured by a frontal attack. All of them are agreed that Madrid has been made into an impregnable fortress — even those who came here as skeptics months ago; some of them men who had no advance prejudices about Republican Spain.

BETTING ON MADRID

I hadn't been here long before I discovered why these veteran war correspondents are betting on the invincibility of Madrid. I wanted to see for myself. I remembered how often I had come into this city by train. The South Express from Paris creeps across the flat Castilian plain on the final miles of its run. Somehow you get the idea that Madrid is the most unprotected city in the

ment. They are about six feet thick and jut out from each side of the street. Sometimes the barricades leave an opening in the center, large enough for one auto to pass through. Sometimes one wing stands ten feet in front of the other; that makes an overlapping wall, while still leaving a passage for emergency traffic. The concrete and stone walls are pierced with small openings for rifles. In spots they have narrow eyelids, three feet long, which will permit machine guns to sweep, fan-shape, the street in front. Only the direct hit of heavy artillery would have the slightest effect upon these barricades — and there are triple rows of them on every main artery entering the city. In addition, all side streets in between them are walled off — miles and miles of barricades. This is how Madrid had been



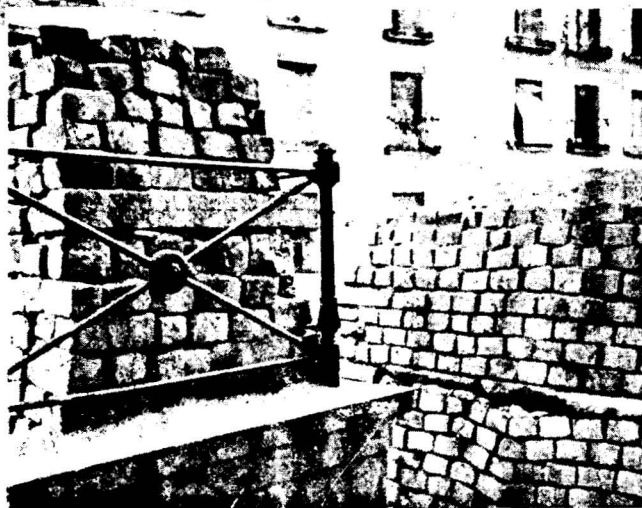
LELAND STOWE, ace foreign correspondent of the New York Herald-Tribune and winner of the Pulitzer Prize for Journalism, who recently spent some time in Madrid.

transformed into the most formidable walled city of modern times. It is the first metropolitan Verdun in history. And though I had neglected to notice it on my past visits, this city of unconquerable will actually stands on rising grounds. This is why I say that if Franco had an army of one million men I still do not believe that he could break through the barricades of Madrid. And this is why the Madrilenos confidently declare that Madrid will be the graveyard of Fascist foreign aggression.



world. All last winter, back home, I read about the miraculous defense of Madrid, and wondered how it could possibly have been achieved. Now I know how it was done. I've discovered the *street barricades* of this amazing city, and I've examined them for myself.

Start from the Gran Via Madrid's Broadway — and walk north, west or south. Within five minutes' walk, you will come upon the first barricades. They are six or eight feet high; made of cobblestones and ce-



STREET BARRICADES IN MADRID

UNIVERSITY CITY

Yesterday I walked for two hours through the trenches of University City. Like so many parts of Madrid, University City has its personal ghost for me. The last time I visited that wide, sloping campus, with its great, modern college buildings, was in February, 1931. And the ghost that I met yesterday was the ghost of Alfonso XIII, the last of the Bourbon kings of Spain. For on that February day six years ago Jay Allen, of the "Chicago Tribune", and myself had the last interview that Alfonso ever gave as king of Spain. And when he gave it both Allen and I were convinced that Alfonso's crown was tottering over his left ear. Just six weeks later it crashed to the ground and Alfonso went out as the republic of great hopes and mortal enemies came in.

I thought of all that as I walked through the clean, deep trenches of University City yesterday. I thought of that as I looked at the ruined hulk of the College of Philosophy, torn and twisted by a Fascist general who claims to be fighting for civilization. Alfonso's reign had left 45 percent of 28,000,000 Spaniards unable to read and write—but he was proud of this show-place university, built for the lucky few. My guide was a Madrilenos who had been a pharmacist before he was sent into the front lines with four cartridges in his pocket to save the republic. Without thinking I remarked, "Well, at least Alfonso built some good forts for the defenders of democracy, even if he didn't know it." Like a flash came Rodrigo's reply: "No, no. Alfonso didn't build this university", he said. "We paid for it and we built it—the people of Spain." I didn't have any answer for Rodrigo. As an American, what do you think? Who paid for University City? To me it seems clear enough—the same people who are defending it today. But Rodrigo wasn't finished. He went on, and there was bitterness in his

"YOUNG GIANTS OF SPAIN'S PEOPLES' ARMY"



MODESTO



LISTER



DURAN



CAMPESSINO

voice. "The Fascists didn't have to come this way. We didn't want the university to be harmed. What could we do?"

This morning I took another walk. I wanted to see what was left of the home of a very famous Spanish nobleman I had once met at the Hotel Ritz in Paris. The world knows him as the Duke of Alba. I remember very plainly my impression of that carefree playboy with the polished manners and the too-charming smile. To me he looked like the Duke of Nothing-at-All. But he had inherited riches in land and art that were fabulous, and among them one of the largest and most beautiful palaces in all Madrid. This is the Palacio de Leria—and it was this palace that I went to see. I went alone; without a guide and unannounced.

The Duke of Alba, like virtually all of Spain's titled nobility, is an ardent supporter

of the rebel leader, General Franco. Some say that the Duke has given considerable of his wealth to supply the rebels with airplanes, guns and bombs. If that's true there's plenty of irony in this story. Last winter Franco's aviators dumped hundreds of pounds of inflammable bombs upon the Duke's palace—and the Republican Spaniards, whom the Duke despises, fought valiantly to save his priceless art treasures from destruction. They saved a small part of them—but today the Palacio de Leria stands, a burned-out hideous shell, in the lovely green gardens which surround it. Heaps of refuse and wreckage are piled up thirty feet high on three sides. The roof and the upper three stories of a palace with more than 100 rooms have been completely destroyed. On the second floor I found the private chapel what is

left of it—a chapel in which the dukes of Alba have worshipped for hundreds of years. Two walls collapsed, but by a miracle the chapel's rare paintings escaped. Now the walls have been rebuilt and the republican government has built a temporary roof to protect the chapel which the Duke of Alba's hired mercenaries destroyed. Everything in this once magnificent palace is now devastation and horror. I stood there and sought to control the indignation that swelled up inside me. At my side stood a Spanish workman, one of the two guardians of the ruins. "It is criminal", he said... That was all. Later he told me how the government had placed in safe-keeping all the ancient tapestries, paintings and statuary that could be salvaged from the ruins. Before I left I asked the guard to what political party he belonged. "I am a Social-

list", he said. ...And in rebel Spain Franco claims that anyone who is a Socialist is a terrorist and a Red, deserving to be shot. I am only reporting what I have seen with my own eyes.

SHIRT-SLEEVE GENERALS

And when I report what I have seen, on this return to Republican Spain, I must tell you about the young generals who are making history in the Loyalist army. Back home we hear surprisingly little about them—but they are the Washingtons, the Anthony Waynes and the Ethan Allens of the Spanish war. The Loyalist army has at least half a dozen men who already have won great fame among their soldiers and the people here. Thursday I lunched with one of them—Colonel Antonio Ortega, commander of the Sixth Army Corps and the recent substitute for General Miaja as commander-in-chief of the Central Army. A few days earlier I met another—a former quarryman named Lister—a bold, two-fisted fighter who commands the 11th Division. In addition to these there is Campesino, a peasant who began the war as a private and is now one of the most formidable commanders in all Spain. There is Modesto, also the son of peasants, a novice at arms one year ago and today commander of the 5th Army Corps on



Scenes of Destruction in Madrid after a particularly heavy fascist bombardment.

(Concluded on next page.)

MADRID AFTER 3 YEARS

(Continued from page 5.)

the Madrid front. There is Duran, one of the most gifted composers of music in Europe—now a brilliant officer and leader of men... Lister, Campesino, Modesto, Duran—they are all in their early thirties and all warriors who sprang from the people themselves. They are the shirt-sleeve generals of Republican Spain.

Few things can be more dramatic than the stories of these young giants of Spain's people's army. I should like to tell you more—much more—but space will not permit it. I want merely to give you a hint of the determination which bristles in every fibre of these shirt-sleeve heroes of a cause which the world said long ago was lost—and they say is already assured of victory. One and all they say—simply, sincerely, factually—"We shall win the war!—It may be long—but we will win!" They say it, as Washington said it at Valley Forge. I, for one, believe they cannot be beaten.

LIKE OUR REVOLUTION

And there's one more parallel between the battle of republican Spain and our own war for independence. Like our own Revolutionary leaders, the Loyalists have had to make an army out of untrained men—and they have done it. Like ourselves in 1776, the Spanish republicans have had to develop great military leaders out of farmers, workers and hitherto unknown civilians. They have done that, too. And just as Washington's ragged Continentals were opposed by professional soldiers—and by Hessian mercenaries—so the Loyalists are opposed by experienced army officers and by imported foreign Fascists. Like the soldiers of the American revolution, the soldiers of republican Spain refuse to believe in anything but victory. And like our founders of the American republic, they are fighting for

WANTED

Photographs of Our Dead Comrades.

The English, American and Canadian commissariat and The Volunteer for Liberty have under consideration the issuance of postcards in memory and honor of our dead comrades. In order to do this it is necessary for us to acquire a collection of photos of these comrades.

We know that many comrades have photographs as personal souvenirs of those who have fallen, and we appeal to them to lend them to us for this purpose. All photographs will surely be returned as soon as reproductions are made. Please send all photographs to:

THE VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY

S. R. I. Plaza del Altozano 63 E. Albacete.

LETTERS from HOME

A New Film
About Spain.

Dear S. For the past many weeks I have strongly felt that I was with you in Spain. I've been working 15 and 16 hours a day, sometimes more, with P. on a Spanish film which we have called "Heart of Spain". As you know, X brought back material on the work of the blood transfusion institute... Well, after a long time during which the first draft of the commentary and the musical score were worked out, and we all spent two solid nights until dawn revising the commen-

the right of their own people to govern themselves.

Do not think that such a cause is lost. The Spanish people have found their Washingtons and their Ethan Allens and their Anthony Waynes. The Spanish people have just begun to fight. You cannot know Spain—know its people and its history—without reaching one profound conviction. If Washington was right in 1776, then Republican Spain is right today.

tary and preparing the recording of the voice, music and sound effects, and got perhaps 12 hours of sleep in 6 days—after this week we finally emerged with a film... And after all this work and worry it's



really something to be happy about...

Everyone who has seen the film has felt tremendously torn and moved, and ready to do whatever they can for Spain. P. F., who reads the Sun and the Herald-Tribune, saw the film this afternoon and immediately wrote out a check for the American Medical Bureau. At the first small showing, when the film ended the 40 or so people in the projection room sat quiet for a full two minutes and then applauded loudly. A very well-known film star saw it today and said she was never so disturbed and moved by a film. So you see, when this film goes out, it should do a lot of good in the world...

Salud.

Aug. 2, 1937.

Transport Workers
On the March.

Dear R. Right here in my union, the Transport Workers Union (where, as I wrote you, I've been working since you went away), the overwhelming march of the C. I. O. is evident every day. I enclose a calendar of achievements of



our union—all of them won without a single strike action—although we are faced now with the toughest and most notorious anti-union corporation, the B. M. T. Despite a collective bargaining election held two weeks ago under the supervision of the State Labor Relations Board, which we won by 75 per cent (the usual percentage for the union has been much higher), the B.M.T. is trying to enforce "contracts" which they had obtained by the company union in force till we came in. If they try to keep these so-called contracts, which are now illegal, there may be big things happening. On the day before the election, the B. M. T. spent thousands of dollars for a full page ad in all the city newspapers; and later the election, Menden, president of the B. M. T., had the temerity to write to John L. Lewis, asking that Lewis and the C. I. O. compel the Transport Workers Union to recognize the "contracts"!

Nationally the C. I. O. is making great headway, though not without struggle and bitter fights. The big bosses are not missing a single trick. Many workers have lost their lives, shot down without a single chance—but that hasn't stopped us from fighting for our right to organize in unions of our own choice..

M.

Aug. 11, 1937.



The VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY

organ of the international brigades



Vol. I - N. 14

Madrid, September 13 - 1937

SOVIET EXPERT ANALYZES MILITARY ACTIONS IN THE NORTH AND ON THE ARAGON FRONT

By GOLUBIEV

"The offensive in the north", writes the Soviet military expert Golubiev, in a recent issue of *Izvestia*, "marks a considerable change in the strategic plans of the rebels."

Golubiev analyzes the recent military operations in Spain as follows:

"Until now, the rebels have confined themselves to attempts to inflict a decisive defeat on the Republic on the Center Front, and thus to finish the war in the shortest possible time. Their offensive on the Northern Front and their passivity on the Center Front signify the desire of the rebel military command first of all to win successes on the secondary fronts; and then, only after having gathered together all its forces, to attempt to launch an offensive on the principal front."

"As far back as January and February of this year, German fascism considered this strategy to be the only one suitable to Franco. If it was not applied until the end of March, it was only because the Italian generals considered the taking of Madrid to be as easy as that of Malaga. The defeat of Guadalajara, however, weakened the confidence of the Italian generals, and forced them to accept the German plan. The offensive of the rebels and invaders on the Northern Front can now be divided into three periods."

THREE PERIODS

"The first period began with the offensive of March 31st, continuing until April 30th. The second lasted from the last ten days in April until July. The last period began in August. During the first period the rebel Spanish troops



BELCHITE - NOW IN GOVERNMENT HANDS

played the principal part. In the second and third periods the action was carried out almost entirely by regular divisions and regiments of Italian troops, strengthened by German technique.

"As the invaders and rebels had to weaken their activity on the Northern Front because of the activity on the Madrid sector, the Government command took advantage of this to reorganize its units and to strengthen its defenses. But the time which the government command had at its disposal for this work was extremely limited; and a new offensive of Italian and rebel troops was launched before the loyal forces in the north had time to complete the job of putting these measures into effect.

"The total effective force of the

Italians and rebels concentrated for the offensive against Santander was from 50,000 to 60,000 men (among whom at least 40,000 or 45,000 were Italians), about 100 tanks, and from 250 to 300 cannon. The success of these Italian and rebel troops is certainly of great importance for the Northern Front of Republican Spain. But this does not mean that the war will end in favor of the rebels and invaders—far from it. This success is the result of the unequal effort of the forces of the regular Republican army on the different fronts. The Northern Front, where there was great backwardness in applying the principles of regular military organization and formation, was one of the weak points in this respect.

"Another weak point for the

Republican army for a considerable time was the Eastern Front (Aragon), where the organization of regular troops met with strong opposition on the part of uncontrollable and Trotskyist elements. But the latest events on this front show that these defects are rapidly on the way toward being overcome. At the moment when Republican Santander found itself in a critical situation, the Eastern (Aragon) Front carried out a great offensive action.

GREAT SUCCESSES

"The first days of this action have given the government troops great successes, which compensate in a large measure for the failures in the Santander sector."

"The center of gravity of the Spanish struggle still continues to be the Madrid front, which has so far shown itself to be unconquerable by the rebels and foreign invaders. In the July battles, great capacity was shown in large scale offensive actions. Now the Aragon front, ever more active and disposing of a powerful fighting base, is helping the Central Front. The coordinated actions of the government troops of the Central and Aragon fronts makes it permissible not only to reduce the success obtained by the rebels in the North to zero, but to affirm that Republican Spain will be completely victorious."

"Independently of its final result the offensive of the Republican troops on the eastern front is of very great importance."

"The strength of the Madrid front does not rest only in the fact that the best military units are to

(Continued on page 2)

LETTERS from HOME

Government Unions Still Going Strong.

Dear F: It's hot as hell here in Washington, but working in a coolish apartment is different from digging dirt 200 yards from the fascist lines... News from Spain comes to this city in spasms. China has more of American invested



capital, it appears, and the newspapers are frothing at the mouth over the war in the East. A damned important spot, to be sure, but not so important as to keep ALL Spanish news from us. Of course, we get our reports. And our energy for raising money, etc., stays apacemore substantial.

People in towns are worried about S. and B. Haven't heard from them for weeks. Maybe you can help us with a bit of information on their whereabouts. Also about B. S.

The government unions are still going strong. Over thirty locals have been chartered by the United Federal Workers of America, and more are on the way. Another group — over 5,000 strong — may come in en masse. Which will help a great deal.

As for us here, our Union work continues full force during the summer months. I'm unemployed, but am putting my time to good advantage. It seems everybody hears I'm not working, hence I can help do this, that, and the

other thing. They're running me ragged, but it's the stuff that keeps me going. And there's so much work to be done that one almost gets discouraged and falls all over himself trying to double the pace. But it all works out somehow, and progress is made... Send us a couple of words now and then.

Your pal, L. August 19, 1937.

Learning to Fight With Other Workers.

Dear L: I have been at home five weeks now, and as a matter of fact have enjoyed this first vacation in a long time immensely. Next week, however, I expect to get some definitive word as to my chances for reinstatement in the W. P. A. I have brought my case before the City Projects Council, of which I am an individual member, and they have appealed it to W. P. A. What a feeling of gratification I felt when, upon walking into the union, I could feel that all these people were for me, that they would help me. Quite a different feeling, I assure you, from the one I experienced when



I ran around to all the big shots of my department and asked them to help me. There I received only kind words and kind wishes, but no tangible aid. This is my first personal experience with unions, and it fills me with a sense of power and pride to realize what working people can accomplish when joined together with others to fight for a common interest...

H. August 20, 1937.

FRIENDS FALL OUT

On August 26th, the British Ambassador to China, Sir Hugh Knatchbull-Hugesson, was motoring from Nanking to Shanghai, when his car was attacked by two Japanese aeroplanes, which raked the car with machine-gun fire and seriously wounded the Ambassador. The British Government subsequently sent a blunt note to the Japanese Government, of which the following is an extract.

"His Majesty's Government feel that they must take this opportunity to emphasise the wider significance of this event. It is an outstanding example of the results to be expected from indiscriminate attack from the air.

"Such events are inseparable from the practice, as illegal as it is inhuman, of failing to draw that clear distinction between combatants and non-combatants in the conduct of hostilities which international law, no less than the conscience of mankind, has always enjoined.

"The fact that in the present case no actual state of war has been declared or expressly recognised by either party to exist emphasises the inexcusable nature of what occurred."

All who read this stern condemnation must have gaped in astonishment.

Could this be the same Government that was so blind to law and justice when thousands of defenceless Abyssinians were slaughtered by the bombs and poison gas of Imperial Italy? Could it be the same Government as that whose official representative defended before the League of Nations the rape of Manchuria by Japan, the bombardment of Shanghai and the slaughter of multitudes of the

Chinese people in 1932? Could this be the Government that in the teeth of the international law and conscience of mankind, of which it now talks so smoothly, allowed Germany and Italy to wage "totalitarian" war on the Spanish people; that left unheard the dying cries of thousands upon thousands of women and children killed by German and Italian bombs at Durango, Guernica and Bilbao and by shells from German warships at Almeria?



Concrete Entrenchments Captured at Belchite.

But the British Government did more than express the excellent, but somewhat late, sentiments above. It presented demands. It wants an apology, it wants the punishment of those responsible, and it wants the assurance of the Japanese Government that nothing of the sort will ever happen again.

Why this sudden change? First, of course, is the fact that an Ambassador of the British Empire can scarcely be placed in the same classification as those anonymous dead in Abyssinia or China, or the women and children of Spain.

And secondly, British Capital has over 100,000,000 pounds invested in Shanghai alone, and Japan's "crusade against the communist menace" in China has dissolved the hope of any profits on this and the other huge sums invested in China for a number of years, and a distinct possibility of the whole of this investment being lost for good. So perhaps we may be pardoned for doubting the genuineness of the apparent change of heart on the part of the British Government. In the past, its heart has seldom proved as susceptible as its pocket.



Quinto After the Battle.



Fascist Prisoners Captured in Aragon.

O. C. G.

GOLUBIEV ANALYZES MILITARY SITUATION IN SPAIN

(Continued from page 1.)

be found there, but also in that this front, thanks to the efforts of the parties and organisations of the People's Front, has the firmest and best organised hinterland. The condition of the army is determined by the condition of the hinterland. The base of the hinterland of the eastern (Aragones) front was Catalonia, the most industrial and the most economically developed region of Spain.

"Catalonia has an industry which is capable, by its organisation and management, not only of providing what is needed on the Aragon front, but also of being a rich source of technical and military materials for other Republican fronts. The reason for the previous passivity on the Aragon fronts was the weakness of organisation in Catalonia, which for a long time did not have a discipline firmly organised and tempered in the anti-fascist struggle.

CATALONIA AS BASE

"The lack of organisation in the Catalonian hinterland obliged the military units on the Aragon front to remain inactive before the numerous rebel forces. But the weakness of Catalonia as the base of the Aragon front and the insufficient organisation of the military units on this front were not only due to the weakness in Catalonia itself. They were also due to the fact that the central Spanish Government, led at that time by Largo Caballero, did not take the necessary steps to help Catalonia to deal with the unhealthy phenomena which existed there. The Catalonian situation underwent a radical change after the Trotskyist-Fascist putsch in May at Barcelona. This putsch revealed to the eyes of the mass of the Catalonian people, in an exceptionally vivid way, the real essence of fascist espionage in the drive of the Trotskyists and the groups of "incontrollable" whom they drew in



On the peaceful Pacific.

5TH ARMY CORPS DOCUMENTS ON ARAGON ADVANCE



Adjunto remito a Vd un resumen del trabajo de las Brigadas Internacionales 11ª y 15ª en el primer período de las operaciones del frente de Aragón.

En el P. de Mando, a 28 de Agosto de 1937.

EL JEFE DE ESTADO MAYOR:

Comandante



INFORMATION REPORT

During the night of the 23-24 of August began our offensive on the Aragon Front.

Two International Brigades received the order to operate jointly and to take QUINTO DE EBRO, an exceptionally important fortified position closing the Saragossa road.

In the fight, which lasted from the 24th to the 26th, both brigades fulfilled their tasks to perfection.

LOSSES OF THE ENEMY: More than 1000 prisoners and about 350 dead.

ARMAMENT CAPTURED: Four 10.5 calibre guns; two damaged 7.5 guns; more than 20 automatic guns and miscellaneous material.

OUR LOSSES: in both Brigades 269 wounded and 50 dead.

The Commanding General
WALTER

August 29th 1937.

Seal of the 5th Army Corps Division B.

with them into the putsch. This created in Catalonia a situation which was favorable for the reorganisation of the whole of the Catalonian hinterland and front.

BREAK NOW MADE

"After the events in May the new Negrin Government concerned itself with this question. The results of its work were not long in making themselves felt. The prolonged absence of Republican activity on the eastern front was utilised by the rebel command to fortify the whole line of front occupied by its troops. The first task of the Republican forces was to break the front fortified by the Fascist units and occupy the most important sectors. This break has been made in the taking of Belchite, which weakens the whole system of rebel fortifications on the eastern front, and to some extent facilitates the development of the Republican operations against Zaragoza and Teruel. From the beginning of the offensive until now, the Republican units have advances 15 to 20 kilometres on a front of 80 to 100 square kilometres. We should shortly expect fresh activity among the Republican forces, directed in the first place against Zaragoza. The taking of this town after the fall of Belchite would mean a wide strategic breach in the whole eastern front of the rebels, and would be a fresh blow to their prestige. This explains why Italian and rebel Spanish troops have been rushed to the eastern front.

"We must expect fighting during the coming days between the Republican troops and these reserves. Whatever the result of this fighting, the present Republican offensive shows that this front, which was one of the weakest Republican Spain, has moved in to action. We must hope that this time the Republican command will take full advantage of all the possibilities."



First Cap: "Don't bother, he's only exercising his rights as a belligerent."

NEGROES IN SPAIN

In July, on the boat with me coming from New York, there was a Negro from the far West on his way to Spain as a member of the 9th Ambulance Corps of the American Medical Bureau. He was one of a dozen in his unit of American doctors, nurses, and ambulance drivers offering their services to Spanish democracy.

When I reached Barcelona a few weeks later, in time for my first air-raid and the sound of bombs falling on a big city, one of the first people I met was a young Porto Rican of color acting as interpreter for the Loyalist troops.

A few days later in Valencia, I came across two intelligent young colored men from the West Indies, aviators, who had come to give their services to the fight against Fascism.

ALL FIGHT FASCISM

And now, in Madrid, Spain's besieged capital, I've met wide-awake Negroes from various parts of the world — New York, our Middle West, the French West Indies, Cuba, Africa — some stationed here, others on leave from their battalions — all of them here because they know that if Fascism creeps across Spain, across Europe, and then across the world, there will be no place left for intelligent young Negroes at all. In fact, no decent place for any Negroes — because Fascism preaches the creed of Nordic supremacy and a world for whites alone.

In Spain, there is no color prejudice. Here in Madrid, heroic and bravest of cities, Madrid where the shells of Franco plow through the roof-tops at night, Madrid where you can take a street car to the trenches, this Madrid to whose defense lovers of freedom and democracy all over the world have sent food and money and men — here to this Madrid have come Negroes from all the world to offer their help.

"DELUDED MOORS"

On the opposite side of the trenches with Franco, in the company of the professional soldiers of Germany, and the illiterate troops of Italy, are the deluded

and driven Moors of North Africa. An oppressed colonial people of color being used by Fascism to make a colony of Spain. And they are being used ruthlessly, without pity. Young boys, men from the desert, old men, and even women,

compose the Moorish hordes brought by the reactionaries from Africa to Europe in their attempt to crush the Spanish people.

I did not know about the Moorish women until, a few days ago I went to visit a prison



Women and Children Leaving Belchite.

hospital here in Madrid filled with wounded prisoners. There were German aviators that bombarded the peaceful village of Colmenar Viejo and machined-gunned helpless women as they fled along the road. One of these aviators spoke English. I asked him why he fired on women and children. He said he was a professional soldier who did what he was told. In another ward, there were Italians who joined the invasion of Spain because they had no jobs at home.

WHAT THEY SAID

But of all the prisoners, I was most interested in the Moors, who are my own color. Some of them, convalescent, in their white wrappings and their bandages, moved silently like dark shadows down the hall. Others lay quietly suffering in their beds. It was difficult to carry on any sort of conversation with them because they spoke little or no Spanish. But finally, we came across a small boy who had been wounded at the battle of Brunete — he looked to be a child of ten or eleven, a bright smiling child who spoke some Spanish.

"Where did you come from?", I said.

He named a town I could not understand in Morocco.

"And how old are you?"

"Thirteen", he said.

"And how did you happen to be fighting in Spain?"

BRING MOORISH WOMEN

Then I learned from this child that Franco had brought Moorish women into Spain as well as men — women to wash and cook for the troops.

"What happened to your mother", I said.

The child closed his eyes. "She was killed at Brunete", he answered slowly.

Thus the Moors die in Spain, men, women, and children, victims of Fascism, fighting not for freedom — but against freedom — under a banner that holds only terror and segregation for all the darker peoples of the earth.

A great many Negroes know better. Someday the Moors will know better, too. All the Franco's in the world cannot blow out the light of human freedom.

LANGSTON HUGHES

SPANISH STUDENTS PRESENT BANNER TO 15th BRIGADE

The following letter has been sent by the University Students Federation to the 15th Brigade:

"University Students Federation (F. U. E.). General Secretariat, Madrid. 'Lagasca'.

To the 15th International Brigade.

Dear Comrades:

The students of the Lagasca Institute, though feeling that this step only represents the smallest part of tribute which your solidarity deserves, have decided to express our people's gratitude to you by undertaking the patronage of your Brigade, and to symbolise this action with the presentation of a banner. Although the fact that you are fighting by our side is a sufficient sign that the justice of our cause has reached the hearts of the peoples of all countries, your generous courage is a living example to those democracies which close their eyes with indifference to the titanic struggle of a people who once again are echoing the historic songs of their fight for independence. But today it is not easy to confine within the frontiers of one nation the political and social consequences of a violent convulsion, even though it has its origin in the treason of a few privileged military cliques. When the struggle ends with the victory of the Spanish Republic, those democracies will realise the beneficial repercussions of this fresh bloodshed in our history. On that day, comrades of the International Brigades, after a proud farewell, you will be able to return to your own countries, offering your example, linked with all the bonds of brotherhood to our heroic fighters, as a damning contrast to the conduct of certain others.

When you accept our simple gift, we ask you to see in its very simplicity an expression of the sincerity and warmth of our friendship.

Our union in true comradeship is the anxious desire of those who send you their admiration and cordial Anti-Fascist greetings.

On behalf of the students of the Section (signed), *Camilo Rodriguez-Cobacho*."

THE CHILDREN FROM NOVELDA

There has been no need to teach them one thing; they have seen it with their eyes and felt it in their hearts: only the "best people" can make a career for themselves. One of them says with a delightful innocence: "We too have got a right to be engineers, and doctors, and all the rest that's wanted. That's why I want to go to Russia."

★

They were brought from Novelda to Valencia. The Ministry of Health and the Council of Social Assistance asked the Red Aid for sixty children to complete the parties which are going to Russia and Mexico, above all for orphans of the Militia, and in any case workers' children who could not benefit by remaining in Spain. The Executive Committee of Red Aid asked the District Committees for children. All the children in Spain would like to go on these expeditions. But it was necessary to choose.

★

The first choice was made. Standards and conditions were decided on. But the children's imaginations tried to adjust themselves to them. Six children from Novelda who were over the required age (from 8 to 13 for the U. S. S. R., and from 5 to 13 for

Mexico) succeeded in getting themselves enrolled. They came to Valencia. They were thinking of nothing but the happy hour when they would be able to write from the land of Socialism: "We are in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics: we are working, studying, and when we come back to Spain we shall be real men."

★

Then it turned out that six of the children were over age. They were told that they would have to go back home. An enquiry was made into their means, and it was found that they were not precisely necessitous cases. Nevertheless they had been inspired with an illusion, with the finest hope in their young lives. Later they would have to be satisfied. In the meanwhile they would have to go home.

★

But the children from Novelda not only brought desires and imaginations. They also brought the spirit of rebellion. All of them workers' children, brought up amid the silent protest of the oppressed, they considered that the hour had come to express it. One day they disappeared from the home they were living with other children. A few minutes later they

were at the Ministry asking for a hearing, with their political commissar at their head: "We've come to see what's happening, to find out why we're not being sent to the Soviet Union. It's true we're thirteen, but we're not fourteen yet."

After they had been to the Ministry they went to Red Aid another day. We saw them arrive in marching order. The leader, who was the tallest, had a very dissatisfied expression and was wearing his red shirt.

"We want to see the responsible person", they said.

"Which responsible person?"

"The president, the secretary, whichever it is. But we want to see someone. Tell them we're the boys from Novelda."

They made a big impression at the Red Aid. Word went round all the offices. The typists crowded into the corridor to see what would happen. The boys came along very serious. They all had intelligent and determined faces. One of them was asked to come forward.

"I am the commissar", he said.

★

The commissar, Francisco Abat, was the one with the red shirt. He was one of the biggest and most resolved among them. He

entered with all the dignity and firmness of a man conscious of his responsibility and of the justice of his mission.

"I'm the Commissar of the Novelda boys", he said, "And we've come to protest because we're not being sent to Russia with the rest. Bigger ones than us are going. And we want to know why we're not going."

★

In the home they constantly resort to this comparison. Actually there are bigger ones than they going, but those are younger. The Novelda boys look at them with scorn and use them as a weapon. They tell us:

"Look at that big ninny. He's about two inches taller than me. He's fat and flabby and no good for anything. What sort of an engineer is he going to make?"

They all want to be engineers. One of them explains:

"I want to be an engineer because I'd like it, and because engineers are needed in Spain, and because it's the career of the future."

"And why not a lawyer?"

Pah - a lawyer...! No, they'd all laugh at me."

★



SPANISH CHILDREN IN AN INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE CHILDREN'S HOME

We try to find out their vocation. Vocation: that romantic lie of bourgeois society. No - the Novelda boys want to be this or that (engineers, pilots, doctors) because it is work which is going to be useful for the new society. We say to one of them:

"Well, let's see. A doctor's work is useful and humanitarian. We're always going to need doctors. Why would you rather be a pilot?"

And he tells us why. Since he began to realise what the fighting was about, he has seen that the pilots carry death and victory through the air; that the Fascist pilots murder our children with impunity, and it is the duty of the loyal pilots to go up and meet them and frustrate their crimes. He has heard people talk about the striding battles in the air between our chasers and the German and Italian chasers and trimotors,

CHILDREN FROM NOVELDA

and he would like to fly in one of those little white birds of defence and liberty.

★

Another boy has been listening to us very intently. His greatest wish is to go to the U. S. S. R. It was a dream which he did not believe until he found himself in the motor coach which brought him to Valencia. In order to get into that coach he had to subtract a few months from his age; now he is thinking of what he can do to get on to the boat as well. He heard us asking about the medical profession and thought:

"If they want doctors!..."

Perhaps it was with this in mind that he told us he wanted to be a doctor. The others laughed. One of them remarked:

"If somebody gets ill, you'll have to look after him."

★

They have all acquired a great sense of discipline... except when they are told they must go home. The commissar, whom they themselves elected during the journey, takes care that the others behave themselves well, although never so well as the women in charge of the dormitories would like. Very seriously he tells us that he spent sleepless nights because a comrade was ill and he had to stay by his bedside to tell the comrade in charge of the home every time the patient wanted something. He speaks in an almost fatherly tone which contrasts with his size and his mischievous expression. And when Mary tries to make him

understand the necessity of respecting the orders of superiors, of being disciplined and behaving like a real young soldier, he replies in a self possessed, serious way, attempting to refute the arguments which stand in the way of him going to the Soviet Union:

"Why, exactly, do you want to go to the U. S. S. R.?"

"Because the U. S. S. R. is the country of today and tomorrow; because when I come back to Spain I shall be a man and teach my comrades what we don't know now; because there are no possibilities here."

★

Another of them, Vicente Vaillo, joins in the conversation. He begins by showing us his membership cards of the U. G. T. the United Youth and the S. R. I. We say to him:

"Look, you're already growing up, and in Spain too we are fighting for a society in which all children will have the opportunity of studying and 'becoming men'. But we've got to fight to create this society. And I've seen boys like you at the front. But let's suppose that there's no reason for boys going to the front..."

"No, no", interrupts the boy, "There isn't any reason for them to go to the front, while there are so many men hanging about here wearing ties, and no one knows what they're doing..."

★

A small boy with a quiet, intelligent face joins in. He is not one

of those who are excluded from the expedition. He puts in his word when he thinks the moment is ripe.

"I'd go to the front", he says, "I'd go to win the war and then come back to settle things with the men around here..."

"Yes", we interrupt, "But the war isn't won only at the front. And what about those who have work to do behind the lines?"

"I'm not talking about them", he explains "I know the war has to be fought behind the lines, as well. But there are a lot who do nothing except live on the fat of the land like the gentlemen used to..."

★

Those children argue like men. Those children want to go to Russia. We tell them:

"Suppose you're sent to another country."

They think of France, England, Mexico. They also think of waiting in the homes of Red Aid until another expedition is organised.

Anything except going home. One of them says:

"It cost my mother tears of blood to let me come. And now..."

Rather than go home, they say, they will run away to the front. They will throw themselves out of the lorry, they will go here, there and anywhere. Already one of them is of stealing along to the quay, creeping into the boat, and being on his way to Russia before they find out..."

LINE NOVAS

11th April, 1937.

American Press on Events in China

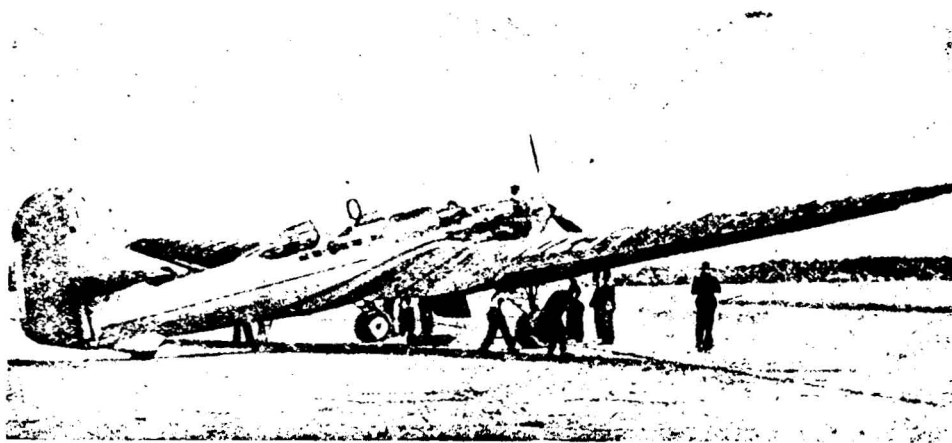
WASHINGTON (Aug. 20). —

"The Washington Post" has published a sharp article on Japanese aggression in China. Never in history, according to the article, has there been such open, insolent aggressive action, undertaken in complete defiance of world civilization, as the present attack by the Japanese on Shanghai, Japan, writes this paper, will never succeed in justifying this crime. The majority of Americans, the paper further points out, hope that the Japanese invaders of Shanghai will receive a severe set-back and that the Chinese will show themselves sufficiently strong to put



an end to the present Japanese aggression.

The paper points out that the Department of State has refrained from invoking the neutrality legislation and in this reflects the anti-Japanese sentiments of the American people. The American people don't want the government to take such actions as would facilitate the Japanese efforts to invade and grab China. The American people "know that Japan, six years ago, delivered a crushing blow against the machinery to maintain world peace and attempted to destroy quite consciously the influence of the League of Nations; they know that Japan in this manner cleared the road for the Italian conquest of Ethiopia and for the present Italo-German intervention in Spain; they know that if Japanese aggression proves successful it will lead to other countries now kept in bounds following the example of Japan in other parts of the world until finally even the U. S. A. will be involved in the conflict".



Soviet Plane Which Made the Long Flight Over the North Pole.

TOWARDS A WORLD ANTI-FASCIST FRONT

DE BROUCKERE, PRESIDENT OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, VISITS SPAIN

On Tuesday, August 6th, Louis De Brouckère, President of the Socialist International, spoke to the French troops of the 14th Brigade.

The setting, medieval and redolent of the old regime, reminiscent of the fallen power of the kings and of the clergy, added a peculiar flavor to an event the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. But overwhelming the old monarchical atmosphere, there was a whole repre-



sentation of a new world, of a world in the making.

In a hotel built for the comfort and delectation of bourgeois tourism attracted to the spot to gaze upon the many and surprisingly well kept relics of the past, were gathered soldiers and officers of the International Brigades, officials of the Spanish Popular Front Government officers of the Spanish Popular Army, representatives of the Communist and of the Socialist Internationals. The date of the meeting, happened to be the day on which the Soviet Union's note to the Italian

Fascist Government concerning the sinking of Soviet Merchant ships was made public. And in that day, with the Soviet Union openly challenging the piratical government of Mussolini, the speech of De Brouckère took on added importance.

COMMANDER PRESIDES

The meeting was opened with a brief but telling introduction by Commander Dumont, who stated plainly but forcefully that the old rivalries between Communist and Socialist in civilian and pre-civil war time had transformed themselves into competitions between them in the quality of the work performed. Then Bastien, political Commissar for the Franco-Belgian Battalion, took up the slogan originated by De Brouckère



re in Belgium, "To Unite or to die", and, expressing admiration for the slogan and for its originator, welcomed him in the name of the Brigade.

The Grand Old Man of the Bel-



Comrade Gallo Showing De Brouckère the Battlefields.

gian Socialist Party stated very plainly that if he did not remain in Spain to fight last year, when he came to Madrid in August, it was because of his advanced age (68), his weight, (over 250 pounds)—De Brouckère is six feet, four inches tall—and chiefly because the present Minister of War, Indalecio Prieto, asked him to return to Belgium and there to take up the fight in behalf of the Spanish Popular Front Government.

DE BROUCKERE'S SPEECH

His subsequent statements follow:

"I am in favor", he said. "Of liberty, of all liberties, by which I mean peace and the emancipation of the proletariat... We in Spain are faced with a war which is both one of invasion and a civil war. The two are being fought simultaneously, and whatever development this war may have, we shall see that this twofold character of the war will become general, because more and more we shall see that these wars are wars of International Fascism against the International Popular forces... I have followed the

events in Spain and everything which happened elsewhere as a consequence of Spanish events. I have arrived at the conclusion that international aid for Spain can be organized, because besides the class interests which are in danger today, we have also the national interests which must be defended.

"International Fascism, which today is invading Spain, is not only the enemy and the executioner of the Spanish people, but is also the enemy of the French farmers and of the French small busin-



nessmen, and of the British commercial interests... These interests are in danger because the governments of these two nations have allowed international law to be flouted with impunity. Respect for international law must be imposed. A Union of democratic nations must be formed.



De Brouckère Greeting Members of the 14th International Brigade.

All the progressive parties must see to it that a mobilization of popular opinion takes place for the purpose of convincing the Government, to take immediate and energetic action against fascism. And if these governments cannot be convinced to take action, then this same popular opinion, mobilized on an international scale, must become strong enough to compel the Government to take action...

"UNITE OR DIE"

"We must unite or die. But this unification process must be the result of patient and careful



LOUIS DE BROUCKERE.

work, and not limited to the two political parties, which can be called functionalized, that is of the Communist and the Socialist Parties. This unification must include all the popular forces in the fight against fascism. This Union must be of an international character, because the task is an international one."

Two days previously De Brouckere spoke in Albacete. There



in the Casa del Pueblo, De Brouckere addressed a large delegation of the International Brigades and unreservedly expressed admiration for the Soviet Union which alone, through its help, made possible the stemming of the tide which was hurling the Spanish unarmed militias across Spain and to eventual defeat. There in Albacete

he developed at greater length the question of international assistance to Spain and against fascism as a whole. Pointing out the neglect of the League of Nations, he stated that the democratic countries (France, Great Britain, the U. S. S. R. and the United States) will be the powers which will decide the final battle. The other nations although small and therefore of relative importance, can also bring their contribution to the common fight. But because the United States is so far away, the deciding and most important voice will be that of Great Britain and of France, because they are the ones in most immediate danger.

We know full well, said De Brouckere, that the British conservative government has sympathies for Franco, but now with fascism in its insolence sinking the ships of these countries, we see our fondest hopes being realized and a change of attitude of these countries because they cannot afford that there should be built over the corpse of Spain a menace to their independence.

United States Will Not Recognize "Belligerent Rights" of Franco

WASHINGTON, D. C. (Sept. 5).—The Government of the United States has rejected the proposal formulated recently by Uruguay that the U. S. associate itself with the recognition of the belligerent rights of the Spanish rebels.

★

Secretary of State Hull has declared to representatives of the press that on the problem of navigation in the Mediterranean, all that the United States could do at the present is to warn its ships of all classes that the danger on that sea has increased as a result of recently noted incidents.

He also stated that "the United States has called the attention of 'non-intervention' countries to the fact that North America has not recognized Franco's rights as a belligerent, and that the U. S. A., despite the fact that it does not participate in the work of the London Committee, follows with great interest and sympathy the efforts of the European nations to limit the effects of the Spanish Civil War".

INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES HONORED IN MADRID

The meeting held in the Monumental Theatre last, Sunday, July 5th, took place amidst an enthusiasm which showed the feelings of the Madrilenos towards the International Brigades.

Held under the auspices of the Socorro Rojo Internacional and for the purpose of paying homage to the Brigades who are now in the hottest and incidentally the most victorious fighting this war of liberation has yet seen, the meeting was addressed by Luigi Gallo, Inspector General for the International Brigades; Lieutenant-Colonel Ortega; Arthur, Commissar of Organization for the Brigades; Félix Galán, of the Socialist Party; Osorio Tafall of the Left Republican Party; Isidoro Diéguez of the Communist Party; Bonnet of the International Red Aid of France, and Antón, Political Commissar for the Army of the Center.

Ortega reminded the people of Madrid that those who make light of the help given by the International Brigades should be reminded of the tragic days of last November, when the fascist hordes were rapidly advancing towards Madrid, pushing on the militia who in spite of all their courage could not stem the invading tide because of the lack of discipline and organization in their lines. It was the International Brigades, said Ortega, who taught discipline and organization to the Spanish ar-

my by their example and courage.

Antón, who was not scheduled to speak, but did so at the insistent request of the audience, decided to address the meeting not as a political Commissar but as a Madrileño. And as a Madrileño he opened by thanking the members



Political Commissar ANTON.

of the International Brigades for the help they gave in the saving of Madrid. He said that Spain knows and never will forget the men of the Brigades, and concluded with the promise that when Spain is freed of this invasion the Spanish Volunteers for Liberty will be going with all the others to Rome and to Berlin and there put an end to the last remnants of Fascist power.



Quinto, After We Broke Through.

TROTSKYIST TRAITORS

The following letter is from a member of the Independent Labour Party who came to Spain as a volunteer in January and joined the P. O. U. M. militia.

★

I was a Socialist, although I had not always followed a clear policy. It was logical, however, that when Fascism made its criminal attack, on the People's Republic of Spain, I, together with other workers, should come to take part in the great struggle.

I arrived in Spain on January 11, 1937, with a contingent of volunteers from the British Independent Labour Party, and I intended to go to Madrid. But for reasons which I do not know, we stopped at the Lenin Barracks in Barcelona. These barracks were controlled by the Worker's Party of Marxist Unification (P. O. U. M.).

The only thing we did was to go on a daily march to and from a nearby field, which infuriated the group of Englishmen, who were only a small minority. At last we went with the P. O. U. M. militia to the Alcubierre sector on the Aragon front, under the command of Commander Kopp. In this position I noticed the first signs that something strange was happening.

FOOD SUPPLIES VANISH

Food and other supplies were very scarce, and on investigating we discovered that although the mules left the base at Alcubierre

fully loaded, by the time they reached the front lines the best of everything had disappeared. Although this was proved, nothing was done to prevent it and no enquiry was held. What was done with all that went astray? I think this deserves an explanation.

Every night at about 11 o'clock, the comrades who were on guard heard the noise of the cart and saw its light. It moved up between our positions on the left and the Fascist lines. We received orders not to fire on this light and we were absolutely forbidden to waylay it or investigate the matter. Our leaders gave us no satisfactory explanation, and no one appeared to know anything about this mysterious cart, except that it used to enter the enemy lines without being fired on.

Once during a skirmish in the daytime we discovered, on the route over which the cart had followed, a hut which showed signs — cigar packets, chocolate wrapping, etc.—of having been occupied regularly by the Fascists and their people.

TRANSFERRED TO HUESCA

We planned to trick their watchfulness at the first opportunity and follow the cart, but at night all our plans were brought to nought, as we were transferred to the Huesca sector.

And these things happened in the so-called Anti-Fascist Militia of the P. O. U. M.

In Huesca the shortage of food continued. We were very badly

off for clothes, and one day at the supply depot at Montflorite, which was their base, I saw an order to deliver to us 75 sets of soldiers' clothes, which were called "fishermens' suits" here. During the weeks which followed one or the other of us wandered round the depot to grab them when they arrived, but they never did arrive.



Very soon afterwards I had evidence of the same thing at Barbastro, a town about 25 kilometres further to the rear.

SUSPICIOUS ACTIONS

One would like to believe at least that the Commander was above all suspicion; but Commander Kopp used to say that he had been in Huesca while the Fascists were occupying it.

On another occasion, precisely a night when we were advancing, a patrol saw Kopp barefacedly jumping over the barbed wire and

returning from the Fascist lines.

And from the political aspect as well, the P. O. U. M. was working in favour of Fascism. The political reports which their representatives gave were full of humbug and gave us cause to believe that workers were going to be rapidly crushed in the hinterland, and that a period of terror was being prepared.

Various reports of bloody repression of the workers in the rear reached us from time to time, and the reasons which were given to explain the shortage of arms was that the Government was trying to annihilate the militia of the P. O. U. M.

DISCOVERS THE TRUTH

If I had had a more complete political training, perhaps I should not have allowed myself to be drawn along by all this nonsensical talk; but unfortunately in my political ignorance I let myself be led into the crime of joining in the struggle instigated against the Anti-Fascist Government in the streets of Barcelona.

Then I realised that the many rifles, machine guns and tanks, which we had at our disposal in such vast quantities in Barcelona, were all the arms for which we had longed so much at the front, and that the real reason for the shortage of arms at the front was this illegal arsenal of arms stolen by the P. O. U. M. and other elements. How glad I am that at the end of two days I had sufficient sense to see a little



Peasant from Belchite whose Family was Killed by the Fascists.



Fascist Artillery Captured at Quinto.

more clearly the criminal business which was being perpetrated by the P. O. U. M. and some of their friends, and extricated myself from it without having stained my hands with the blood of the real Anti-Fascist workers.

OPEN FRATERNIZATION

On my return to the front I found open fraternisation reigned between the forces of the P. O. U. M. and the Fascists: writing paper, tobacco, drinks, etc., were being exchanged.

Our position was 150 yards from the Fascist trenches, and in spite of the fact that they were constantly asking us to go over to them, we were ordered not to reply to their fire.

At that time the militia on the Aragon front were relieved by the People's Army, and among the P. O. U. M. forces it was rumoured that when the moment came for our relief the order would be given to resist the People's Army with force.

But every day I realised more and more the part which the P. O. U. M. was playing in favour of Fascism, and together with my friend Arthur I asked for my discharge. It is not necessary to give in detail all their excuses, except that the front was weak and not a single man could leave which were used to explain their refusal. Nevertheless the P. O. U. M. authorities gave permission to an American Trotskyist, H. Milton, to go to Valencia.

REFUSED TO FIGHT FRIENDS

Arthur and myself refused to take up arms under the command of the P. O. U. M. and against the Spanish Government, and we offered to work on fortifications which were very necessary in our sector. The P. O. U. M. answered by threatening us with prison and the firing squad. We fled to Barbastro and hid there for nine days until a friend told us that things had been arranged for us. We returned to the front, and three weeks later we were relieved by the People's Army without any incident. Then the Workers' Party of Marxist Unification seemed to have a great deal of interest in getting rid of us, and gave us our discharge at once.

And that was the end of my experiences in the P. O. U. M. mi-

INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES CITED FOR TAKING QUINTO

Following the storming of Quinto, in the Aragon offensive, the 15th and 11th Brigades received a telegram from General Walter, in Command of the 35th Division, conveying the congratulations of General Pozas, Commander of the Army of the East. The telegram from General Walter, which is here printed in full, is in effect a citation for bravery in action on the part of these two International Brigades:

"The General in Command of the Army of the East, in his telegram of yesterday, addresses us as follows:

"I send my most enthusiastic congratulations to all the Commanders, officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers in that brave Division, and especially to yourself and to the 11th and 15th Brigades, for the heroism and fighting spirit shown in the brilliant action of the taking of Quinto — an episode of great importance for the triumph of our cause which, I am sure, these forces will even surpass with new victories as important as this last. Forward, the 35th Division!—POZAS, General in Command."

"I am very glad to add my own warmest congratulations to these, hoping that in the coming days the 35th Division will surpass itself, if possible — winning brilliant and decisive victories which are the motto of the glorious Army Corps to which we belong.—WALTER, General in Command of the 35th Division."

litia, whose Fascist role is seen clearly in the above. I must admit that I needed a great deal of time to realise the truth, and that it was only external events which made me consider the question more deeply and see it in its true light. But I should never have fallen into these errors if I had given more attention to my political education.

As I said at the beginning, these circumstances weakened my faith in the socialist movement. But now I understand that in spite of

these backward steps and the treachery of certain leaders in whom I had confidence at that time, we workers must carry on the struggle, and now with greater experience, I hope to play a useful part in the fight against Fascism and the fight for Socialism.

Long live the Republic of the Spanish People!

Long live the victory of the workers of the world!

Salud!

J. A. FRANFORD



REFUGEE KIDS GET HELP FROM U.S.

VALENCIA.—The first American-supported home for refugee children in Spain was inaugurated recently when a group of fifty children arrived at the Thomas Jefferson home in Can Toni Gros, Catalonia. The home, a magnificent country villa north of Barcelona in the lower Pyrenees has obtained the full financial support of the American United Youth Committee for a period of at least one year.

As the children arrived at their destination after there day's journey from Madrid in one of the evacuation trucks of the British Evacuation Service, they cheered and sang for the young Ameri-



cans who had made possible this new home, safe from bombardments. The next morning they wrote to their parents in Madrid describing their new country home.

Most of the children have never lived outside Madrid. They soon scattered in the fields to watch the peasants bring in the harvest of wheat and potatoes. Many of the children were thin after almost nine months' siege in Madrid, but gained weight before the month was over.

The first American colony is under the control of the Spanish Ministry of Education which has established similar homes for almost fifty thousand children from Madrid, Estremadura, and Malaga since the outbreak of hostilities. There are now almost twenty homes supported from abroad, chiefly from England, Belgium, Holland, France, Norway, Sweden, and America. In the United States campaigns have been started to raise money for at least fifteen more homes, while Canada has begun to raise money to support five hundred children in a Canadian Children's Colony. There are already two international children's villages, in Can Toni Gros and Puigcerdà, and others are planned.

AN INTERVIEW WITH ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Alvarez del Vayo is one of the most beloved men in Spain today as well as one of the most important. As Commissar of War, his is the task of molding the political and moral character of the Popular Army, of keeping its ideal and sentiments geared to those of the people. As former Minister of Foreign Affairs, his opinions are still of great weight in that ministry. As a leading left-wing Socialist, previously identified with Caballero, his eloquent advocacy of the united party of the proletariat, has made him a key figure in the relations of the Socialist and Communist Parties.

We caught him in between interviewing a delegation from the Syndicalist Party and engagement to address the graduates of the School of the War Commissariat. We addressed some questions to him that we knew would interest the comrades in the International Brigades.

UNITY ESSENTIAL

"Unity", he declared, in answer to the query that came promptest to our mind, "must be seen against a perspective of a long struggle before victory is assured. This would not be so if the enemy were not supported by the fascist states and if the democratic powers were not indifferent. With this in mind it becomes imperative to have unity of the nation, and a united proletarian party will aid this. It will be a powerful party and thus be better able to carry through the will of the country. It will suppress the inevitable polarization that occurs when parties, in order to preserve their existence, polemicise against one another.

The masses in Spain wanted unity even before the outbreak of the rebellion. The latter has persuaded the Socialist Party executive of the advantages of unity. The United Party will not be used

e. fascist) opinion was that it would endure for two years. But that fascist leaders were banking upon the break-up of the Popular Front and incidents such as the uprising of May.

the thousands who are only waiting for an opportunity to desert. In the rearguard of the fascists we all know what troubles they are having." Our slogan, added the Commissar, that ours is a war of national independence, has begun to have its effect upon the rebel rearguard in the awakening of patriotic sentiment among the Spanish rebels.

BASES FOR UNITY

A corollary of unity on the Loyalist side, said del Vayo, is the broadening of the present base of the Government to include representation of the C.N.T. But there can be no collaboration where anarchist ministers give assurances of one kind and the anarchist masses act otherwise. The only basis for collaboration is the keeping of agreements.

We asked Comrade del Vayo about the indictment of unification as just a measure whereby the Communist Party absorbs the other. He pointed out that the Communist Party in its letter to the Socialist Party, stated that unity should be achieved in such a way that no individual and no tendency in the Socialist Party should be excluded.

The Communist Party appreciates that the Socialist Party in Spain has an enormous tradition behind it, and that it has nurtured many of the trade union leaders. The Communists declare that these trade union militants will form the best cadres for the United Party. We must also remem-



A Street in Belchite After We Occupied the Town.

against other proletarian groups, but will aid the harmonious working together of all parties and trade unions. I am of course for the unity of the U.G.T. and C.N.T., but realism compels me to state that united action will have to precede the stage that the Communist and Socialist parties have now achieved. I think only through unity can Spain win the war. It is a demand of the war." Comrade del Vayo is a man of feeling and deep conviction, and it required no shewdness on our part to discern that unity for Comrade del Vayo was no opportunistic, political pose, but something in which his whole being was involved.

And the obverse of this is what is happening in the rebel rearguard. Logically, Comrade del Vayo pointed out, there should be a correspondence between rebel military successes in Bilbao and around Santander and the morale of the rebel forces and rearguard. "But here in the Commissariat of War we receive daily reports not only on the increasing number of desertions from Franco, but of

IMPORTANCE STRESSED

Comrade del Vayo's emphasis on unity as a pre-condition of winning the war is borne out by comments made by H. V. Kaltenborn, the radio commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting System who recently visited rebel Spain. He was told there by leading fascists that if the war was to be decided on a military basis, even their (i.



Another Russian Atrocity! They've Stolen our North pole!



One of Belchite's Strongly Fortified Positions.

ber the example of the united party in Catalonia where the name Socialist was retained and where the two outstanding leaders, Comorera and Vidiella, were members of the Socialist Party before unification.

AID FROM U. S. S. R.

We then broached a delicate subject, namely, those who accuse the present Government of destroying the gains of the July 18 revolutionary upsurge. "I cannot waste any time denying assertions of pressure from the U.S.S.R. They have given us splendid aid. They never have tried and they know they cannot direct Spanish policy. Spain will decide for itself what is best for her. It would be to fall into demagoguery to try now to decide how Spain is going to be to morrow. I believe that the program of the United Party must be very concretely related to the present war and economic situation."

"It is insane to say Spain is not going in a revolutionary direction. Only look at the country and one can see that it is not the capitalist Spain of 1936. But we cannot allow ourselves the luxury of socio-economic experiments. The revolution is there, but the first condition of winning the revolution is winning the war. If we do not win the war we can make a fine revolution on paper sitting around café tables in Paris."

MAY REBELLION CRIMINAL

Concerning the P. O. U. M., Comrade Del Vayo is awaiting the trial. But he asserted emphatically that the May rebellion was criminal, and that there can be no question but that the P. O. U. M. organ, "Batalla", openly incited to rebellion, and that the speeches of Nin before the uprising called for rebellion.

The interview ended with Comrade Del Vayo telling us of his recent visit to the Madrid front. "Although I spoke only of military matters, it was very significant that I was welcomed all over by tremendous shouts of 'Long Live Unity'. The soldiers at the front feel most keenly the needs of war. And they reflect the general atmosphere behind Loyalist lines.—UNITY."

J. P. L.

POPULAR CULTURE

VALENCIA. — Popular Culture, the name of the association that is brightening the days of many wounded in the hospitals and bringing pleasure to thousands of soldiers at the front, is formed from an amalgamation of the cultural sections of more than nine other organisations. The Left Republicans, the Socialist Youth, the C. N. T. (the Anarchist trade union federation), the Spanish Federation of School Teachers — every large anti-fascist organisation is represented in Popular Culture.

When the war began last July,

to the soldiers on the rebel side. This work was often carried out under enemy fire.

CULTURAL TRUCK

The next job was to equip one of the trucks with a machine for printing, a wireless set, and a small film projector, as well as a



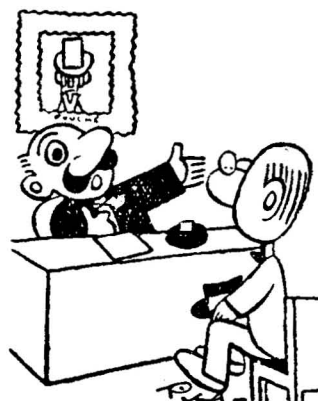
Radio Seville.

Popular Culture instantly established a central office in Madrid, obtained the use of two trucks, and began its work on the fronts. Not the least part of this work has been propaganda directed at the enemy. In the early days of the attacks on Madrid the Popular Culture truck distributed about half a million leaflets giving a true account of the war

comprehensive library. With this equipment the truck of Popular Culture began its tour of the fronts. Since that day its work has grown out of recognition. In the place of the one small library it has collected many thousand books from which it has selected 130,000 considered suitable for the soldiers and wounded. With these it has set up libraries in all parts of the fronts, in the barracks, in hospitals, children's homes. In addition to this it has established "Corners of Culture" in many hospitals where books, gramophones,



nes, and records are kept, lectures and film shows given, meetings held. A dramatic section has also been founded in connection with



Don't be a dope! Sell bombs, not bonds.

the "Barraca" theatre, an amateur travelling company directed by the famous poet Garcia Lorca until his death at the hands of the Fascists.



SAVES ART TREASURES

Popular Culture has done a great deal of work in saving the national treasures of Spain. It was instrumental in saving the books from the second most valuable library in Spain, that of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at University City, Madrid.

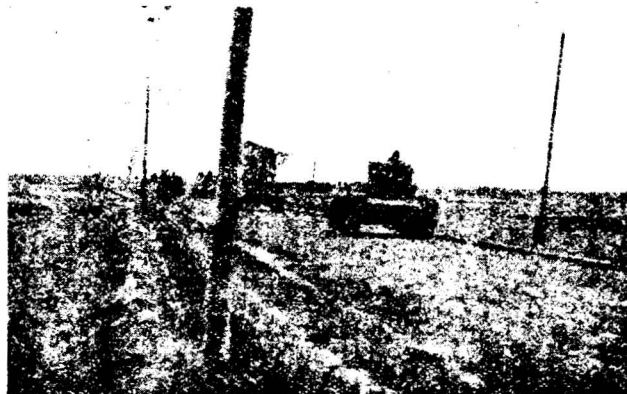
In addition to the 248 libraries they have created, the film shows, and other valuable works Popular Culture distributes about 25,000 newspapers daily; gives regular radio talks for soldiers and patients in the hospitals; and helps the soldiers produce their own newspapers. They organised the



Children's Exhibition of antifascist drawings, which will be shown later in England and the United States. Their work both at the front and in the rear guard has been invaluable, and the spirit in which it is carried out is best expressed by their own slogan: "The rifle of today is the guarantee of the culture of tomorrow".

M. M.

DIANA (U. G. T.).—Larra, 8, Madrid



Tanks Roll Towards Medina.



The VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY

organ of the international brigades ★

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Madrid, September 20 - 1937

WHAT IS HAPPENING BEHIND FRANCO'S LINES?

The following article is part of a short-wave broadcast made to the United States and Canada, over Station E A B, on Tuesday, September, 7th.

★

One of the big questions in the minds of Americans, these days, is: "What is happening behind Franco's lines? What is happening in the territory now held by the Fascists?" It is important to understand what occurs in the fascist rear, not only to possess an accurate picture of fascist strength or weakness, but also to know the maximum fighting power of Republican Spain today. Here, in Spain, of course, we can observe almost at first-hand what occurs in fascist-held territory. We know how the arrogance of Mussolini's officers and the domineering traits of Hitler's officers and men clash even with the Spanish fascists. On many occasions we have heard the noise of heavy fighting behind enemy lines. There have been frequent revolts in fascists-held territory, especially since the powerful July offensive of our People's Army on the Madrid front. And now, with the victorious advance of the Loyalist soldiers in Aragon, we can expect further, and bigger rifts, further rebellions within rebellions, in the fascist areas. There are, in addition to all of this, our partisan units carrying on constant and effective guerilla warfare behind enemy lines; but their activities, for obvious reasons, cannot be spoken of at present.

If you were here in Spain today, you could check up on these things for yourself. A day's ride from Madrid would take you to any of a number of fronts. There

Young Spaniard, Captured Near Irun, Escapes from Fascist Lines at Brunete, and Answers This Question

you would be able to hear the commotion of battle, the flash and sound of rifle- machine-gun, and artillery-fire; directed not only against government lines but against some objective deep within fascist territory. But the fascists' fighting among themselves is only one part of the whole story. Most of the firing takes place when the people themselves rise in fascist territory—the people who have been bled by fascism to a greater degree than even the corrupt monarchy bled them; the people who have been victimized and terrorized to an even greater

degree than were the peasants of 16th century Spain, under the life-and-death power wielded by Philip II and his Inquisition. These people have been drained of their man-power and of their meagre possessions; boys of 15, 16, and 17 are forced to fight for the fascists. And old men and cripples are forced to dig their trenches, build their fortifications.

TWO YOUNG SOLDIERS

Just a few days ago I sat at a long table in a Madrid mansion now occupied by the Alliance of

Anti-Fascist Intellectuals, listening to the story of two young Spaniards who had recently escaped from the fascist lines. One, the older and more articulate of the two, is an Estramaduran, the other is a Basque. Both joined the government forces at the very beginning of the rebellion—July 18th, 1936. ~~Both~~ were attached to the Army of the North. Both fought through the heart-breaking campaigns during which Italian arms and men, and German planes, brutally destroyed Guernica and Durango, and captured Bilbao. I cannot give you their names; their families still live—if they are alive at all—in fascist territory. And it is needless, I think, to remind you that whenever the fascists receive a setback, whether military or verbal—they carry out their reprisals, like the corrupt gentlemen they are, on "women and children first".

I'll call the older of the two young Spaniards Frank—which is a fair approximation of one of his names.

WOUNDED IN NORTH

From the very start, Frank fought at Irun, until it was lost, sustaining a wound which should have kept him out of action for four months. But in half that time, on his own insistence, he was back at the front, as commissar for supplies of his battalion. Tiring of this comparatively "safe" job, he returned to the infantry, where he was made sergeant of a machine-gun company. As a machine gunner he fought in Biscay, at Udalla and Gubiandiano, and in other towns against the fascist advance, until the 23rd of



Bringing in the captured phalangists.

(Continued on page 4)

OUR SECOND VICTORIOUS OFFENSIVE

After our offensive on the Guadarrama follows our offensive on the Ebro before Saragossa.

After the brilliant actions which enabled us to capture Brunete and take by storm Villanueva de la Cañada, Quijorna and Villanueva del Pardillo, we have now carried out new and more brilliant actions on the Aragon front, which have brought our troops within a few kilometres of Saragossa, and have



allowed us to infiltrate a distance varying from 10 to 15 kilometres into the enemy lines and take by storm and hold positions which were deemed impregnable, such as Quinto, Codo and Mediana; and to lay siege to Belchite and to force it to surrender after fierce street fighting.

Not a month had gone by since our first offensive and already our Army was able to launch a second on a still larger scale with more developed and effective means, with troops trained and steeled in action, filled with enthusiasm at the victories we had already won.

ENEMY SURPRISED

Our leaders and troops have carefully profited by the lessons of Guadarrama in this new offensive.

We were able to take the enemy by surprise, to disorganise and overthrow his system of defence in a few hours and to obtain results of vast political and military importance. We were able to do this because of the daring with which the plan of operations was drawn up, the perfect manner in which it was carried out in action, and because of the heroism and worth of our soldiers.

All the Brigades which took part in this action have vied with one another in heroism and worth.

The Brigades which had won their greatest glory on the Madrid front have fought side by side with those brave Brigades which for months and months have been defending the cause of

freedom and Spanish independence on the Aragon front.

PERFECT UNITY

This Aragon offensive is a proof of the perfect unity of purpose which exists in all the sectors of battle, among men of all political tendencies: the will to unite all the forces of the people in one block to crush Spanish and international Fascism as soon as possible.

It also provides a proof of the wisdom and energy of the policy of our People's Front Government, which has been able to prepare and launch this great and victorious offensive in such a short space of time, and in the political sphere has been able to bring about the conditions of organisation and military command



which have made this offensive possible.

Without the perfect subordination of all the military units to one central command, without utilising all our forces in a general plan which takes into account all the needs and possibilities of all the battle fronts, it would have been impossible to carry out the movements of troops and the concentration of forces which were necessary for the success of these offensives.

This provides further confirmation of the advantages and necessity of the unity of all the forces of the people against Fascism, the need for a disciplined regular Army which organises and activates all our forces, and for a central command which makes the best use of them and sends them into attack on the basis of the experience already gained and in accordance with the rules of the art of war.

The decision to launch our second offensive on the Aragon front was not made lightly.

We had to attack immediately

and resolutely on other battle fronts because of the need to help our comrades in the North. We had to go to the aid of the anti-fascist people's forces who had risen in violent demonstrations in Saragossa and the surrounding district against Franco's rule. These factors led to the banks of the Ebro being chosen as the scene for our attacks. The vital significance of Saragossa and the whole of Aragon makes our offensive an event of first rate importance for the whole development of the Spanish war.

After the heroic defence of Madrid for which all the regions of Spain and all the political tendencies have given their best forces, it has been possible to make a concentration on the banks of the Ebro for this offensive and to prove to the whole world that the People's Spain, Republican Spain, is united as one man and feels with one heart and one mind the cause of the war.

THE I. B.'S ROLE

For the Volunteers of the International Brigades, representing the world People's Front, who have come to Spain with one desire alone: to help to defend her liberty and independence, it has been a great honor to be able to take part in this Aragon offensive, where, as ever, our International Brigades have written immortal pages of heroism and daring, such as they had already written on the Madrid front, the



southern front, and the fronts of Teruel and Pozoblanco.

In the assault of Quinto, in the brave resistance to the enemy counter-attacks at Mediana, in the conquest of Belchite, our Brigades, together with the Spanish Brigades, have covered themselves with glory.

What shall we say of the two brave Polish Battalions which penetrated into the enemy lines alone and surprised and destroyed

important fascist forces which were going to strengthen their weakening lines,—those two Battalions which advanced until they came within a few kilometres of Saragossa!

It was a real odyssey, full of



splendid courage, resistance to fatigue, initiative and capacity for action.

LEADERS PRAISE MEN

All the military leaders have nothing but congratulations and highest praise for the courage of our volunteers. They attacked positions which were considered impregnable in perfect order, as if they were "on manoeuvres", I was told by General Walter, Lieutenant Colonel Copic and Commander Richard who had seen them in action and had had the honor of commanding them.

All our Brigades and every one of our volunteers can be proud of the glory won by the International Brigades on the Aragon front. It should make all in our Brigades, all our volunteers, draw the lessons from our last battles so as to do even better, winning new victories in the decisive battles which are before us.

Our victories on the Aragon front provide further confirmation and proof of the lessons of the Guadarrama victory.

We have all we need for victory, and we shall win the war.

LUIGI GALLO

Inspector-General of the International Brigades.

In the Rebel Zone

They say in Gibraltar that the number of Spaniards who flee from the rebel zone to this English area are increasing from day to day so that they constitute a housing problem. More than 500 have arrived in the last week in spite of the precautions of the rebels.

BRITONS IN SPAIN

In these days, when our Spanish comrades are paying homage to our International Brigade, and when its amazing history is being unfolded anew, its struggles, the hardships it has endured, its victories; it is time also that we volunteers who make up this Brigade should remember the service and the valor of some of the comrades who are still fighting at our side, and of the comrades who died in giving it its memorable tradition.

Some of us are apt to forget, and some — especially among the newer recruits — are unaware of the difficult days that now forever lie behind us. Today, with our efficient units, our modern arms, our trained officers, our unified command, it is not easy to remember those other days, the days of confusion, of sabotage, of treachery; the days when our aeroplanes did not fill the sky, nor rifles fill all of our arms: the days when we were only beginning to forge our army, and to forge the men who lead it.

Others can tell of the numberless, nameless French comrades who, in the first months of the revolt, poured over the border in their thousands and died that Fascism should not pass; of the brave and bitter German and Italian anti-fascists who faced again the Beast of Fascism and, dying, stayed its progress. I wish to tell of our brave British comrades whose courage and selfless sacrifice have been second to none among the anti-fascists who compose the International Brigades.

SPORTSMEN ENLISTED

In July 1936, when the fascist rebellion broke out a group of British worker sportsmen were in Barcelona for the Workers' Olympiad. They immediately rallied to the aid of their Spanish brothers and fought with them in the streets of Barcelona and in other parts of Catalonia. A second group, cycling in France at the time of the outbreak, immediately crossed the border and put their services at the disposal of the Government. Among the first group was Felicia Brown, a London artist, perhaps the first woman from another country to die for the cause of Spain.

In two months time the group of volunteers had grown and the "Tom Mann Centuria" was for-

med. This unit carried out some of the most audacious coups in the early days, among such, an expedition to the Balearics, where they fought doggedly against the fascist invaders. Later, linking themselves up with the German comrades, they went into action on the Teruel and Madrid fronts, where they won the admiration of their fellow anti-fascists. These actions saw the death of some of our best comrades, typical of such being John Cornford, a brilliant student whose death was one of the severest losses to the British student movement in recent years.

VOLUNTEERS POURED IN

At the same time as these comrades were fighting with the "Thaelmann Battalion" other British volunteers were pouring into Spain. In December a British company of about 150 men, insufficiently armed, badly equipped, hurriedly trained, left Albacete for the Cordova front, where the fascist had been advancing. On a moving front without entrenchments, their thin garments providing little protection against the winter cold, robbed even of food by sabotage, they fought for night and day to repel the enemy advances. Three times they gained their objective, thrice were they thrust back by the machine gun fire of the enemy aviation. In those days the red "moscas" had not yet come to terrorise the fascist planes from the skies.

From Cordova they went to Guadalajara and to Casa del Campo. Wherever the fascists made their greatest efforts the British comrades were to be found opposing them. After a two month campaign they returned to the

base to re-organise and to join the British Battalion which was being formed. But not all of them returned, Ralph Fox, beloved proletarian writer of the British people was one of those who did not come back.

BATTALION FORMED

The British "Saklatvala" Battalion was formed early in 1937. On Feb. 11th, the fascists succeeded in crossing the Jarama river and, supported by tanks and artillery, were advancing towards the Madrid-Valencia road. The Battalion was one among others which was rushed up to stem the advance. It was a moving front, a front without cover. It was the scene of the most desperate battle of the war — the scene of our British comrades' greatest effort.

For eleven days and nights the British comrades fought the fascists for the soil of Spain — foot by foot. Hundreds of our comrades were killed, hundreds more wounded. Death and injury denuded the battalion of the majority of its officers — still it fought on. By the 21st, it was evident that the fascists had exhausted their efforts and that they had failed in their objective.

Despite the heavy losses on both sides and the extremely exhaustive nature of the fighting, the Government forces were quickly re-organised and took the initiative in attack. In these attacks the British comrades continued their heroic efforts. When, at long last, calm came to the Jarama sector, this heroic battalion made up its balance sheet hundreds of dead, hundreds of wounded: Madrid had been saved, THEY HAD NOT PASSED.

Then followed the long enervating months of comparative stalemated, months of extreme difficulty during which it was found to be impossible to rest the battalions owing to the peculiar military and political situation in the country at the time. These were the days when the activities of fascist agents were making critical situations in the rear, the days which saw the culmination of such work in the betrayal of Malaga and the uprising in Barcelona. These events were responsible for denying our comrades the rest they so badly needed.

At last, however, the situation improved and the British Battalion was rested. The rest was short-lived for the call went forth again — this time the OFFENSIVE. Again they took up their arms again they marched to battle.

Who can say that these men were not brave, these men who stormed Villanueva de la Cañada? At last on the offensive against the hated fascists, despite their fatigue, despite their weariness, they fought like heroes. And what can we say of these dear comrades who paid with their lives for this advance? Company Commanders Meredith and Goodfellow, Political Commissars Brown and Elliot, no braver men fought, no comrades have died more sorrowed.

And so to Quinta, where again our victories are not without a tinge of sorrow. Peter Daly, our beloved Irish Company Commander, has died the only death that he could die.

Cordova, Guadalajara, Casa del Campo, Jarama, Brunete, Teruel, Quinta — these are the milestones in the long history of the British comrades in Spain. It is a long history but not a finished one, because we have still many of these men with us, and many more have come to join them in this struggle and to continue the proud traditions of this heroic battalion.

When the day comes on which we shall proclaim the victory of the Spanish people, we shall not forget to pay homage to the comrades who have made this victory possible. And not least among them shall be our comrades of the British battalion.



L. B. Men Help the Peasants Harvest Their Wheat.

A. DONALDSON

WHAT IS HAPPENING BEHIND FRANCO'S LINES?

(Continued from page 1.)

April, when his brigade was forced to evacuate its position to escape the deadly, vise-like enemy offensive. The brigade took up new positions in the mountains, but if their old position had been the frying-pan, the new one was the fire. All day long, Frank told me, 33 tri-motored fascist planes bombed them, dropping 1100 bombs. Forty enemy batteries kept up a constant, rapid-artillery-fire against them. After one day of this, the roll call told the story; 160 dead, and more than twice that number wounded. Frank, for the second time, was among the wounded.

RESCUE ATTEMPT

Again, after a short stay in the hospitals of Bilbao and Santander, he was back at the front. But a new fear gripped him this time. He found out that his young wife and two small children were less than five miles from the fascist lines. "There's still time to get them out", he thought and he received permission to go after them.

He set out to save his small family on June 25th of this year. The way was easy—it was his own, small house—he had been over the dusty roads and meadows and vineyards a hundred times before. But when he reached the house his wife and children were gone. In their place he found eight men, eating his own bread, getting drunk on his own wine. They were not Spaniards — he could tell that at a glance. He could have run off, hidden himself in a ditch until nightfall, when he would have been able to return safely to his companions; but the shock and the bitterness in him were too great. "I couldn't move", he told me. "I could only stand there and think—where are they, where are they?" It was here that he was taken prisoner by the fascists, five of whom, as he soon discovered, were Italians, the other three Germans.

From this point on, I'll give you Frank's own words, translated as literally as possible:

IN FASCIST HANDS

"The Germans soon departed, leaving me in the hands of the Italians, who promised that I would escape punishment if I



Girls At Work in an Ammunition Factory.

would join them. I had heard about their punishment, many times before. Seeing I was lost, I said "Yes, I'll join you".

"Then the Italians, with a great deal of soft-soap, told me not to worry, and said they would take me to headquarters to make a statement, and from there they would send me home. From the place called Gallarto, where I was captured, I was taken to San Salvador del Valle, where the headquarters were; and before we got there we went through Ortuella. At Ortuella there was a division of German and Moorish troops; and two of these soldiers, one a German and the other a Moor, came towards me when they saw me, threatening that they would cut my head off. But they changed their minds when the Italians who were guarding me told them that I was not a Red but a national.

POSSESSIONS TAKEN

"At the headquarters, after taking from me all the useful personal belongings I had, such as a watch, 250 pesetas and a few other things, they put me in a dark cell where there were twelve others, some of them old men. They kept us in the cell till eight o'clock in the evening, when they made us get into a truck and took us along to show us to the people of all the towns and villages on the right side of the Bilbao River, telling the people that this was what would happen to them if they didn't behave. At Burcena they made us get down

from the vehicle, taking us on foot to Bilbao, which was five kilometres away.

"In Bilbao, they put us in the Arriaga Theatre, and about 100 of us were kept there for four days. Every 24 hours they gave us a can of beans for four men, and a small piece of bread (150 grammes) for each of us. We slept on the floor, without blankets to cover us nor a sleeping mat to rest on. During this time I was able to speak with an anonymous comrade, who told me that on June 23rd, 28 workers had been taken out of this prison-theatre at midnight, led to the Derio Cemetery, and there, together with thirty other prisoners from Guernica, all of them were shot.

20 IN ONE CELL

"After we had been four days in this hole—on June 29th, at two in the afternoon, when it was raining in torrents, they made us march in formation through all the streets of Bilbao when the rain was heaviest. Naturally we got soaked, as we had nothing on to protect us. After they got tired of making us walk through all the streets, they put us into a number of busses and took us to Victoria. There, soaked as we were, they put us in another prison, twenty men to a cell. We remained here for six days, unable to sleep or even to sit down because the cell was too small even for half our number. In it we had to attend to all our necessities—all our necessities—we were not

permitted out even once. The food was a ladle of soup every 24 hours, and a small piece of bread.

"On our second day at the Victoria prison there arrived a political prisoner who had been brought from Guernica. His face told us, even before he spoke, that he had been cruelly tortured. It was he who told us that the tortures inflicted on political prisoners where he had come from were so terrible that it meant slow, lingering death for all but the strongest.

TAKEN TO BURGOS

"On July 5th, after taking statements from us in an insulting and swinish way, they took us by train to the Burgos concentration camp. In Burgos, in order to impress the conscience of the world when foreign journalists came they gave us very good food, mostly thanks to a good captain who was in charge of us. But after the journalists had been satisfied, and when it was supposed that they would not come there any more, they moved the captain to another place; and things changed, changed very sadly for us.

"While we were here in Burgos, old men and sick men with high fevers were forced to work together with us. Early in the morning we had to go down into the prison yard to hoist the Monarchist flag, give the fascist salute, and successive cheers for the Generalissimo, for fascist Spain, for the fascist army; and then we had to shout, as loud as we could "Glory to General Mola!" One comrade, for not submitting to these whims and not saying the appropriate things, was shot. These performances of cheers and salutes we were forced to go through three times a day: in the morning, at midday, and in the afternoon.

FASCIST HINTERLAND

"After we been in this concentration camp a little more than a month, with old men and sick men working at heavy labor, building a road, we were taken to Burgos station and placed on a freight train at 9 o'clock at night and taken to the Madrid front. During the journey through Burgos, Valladolid, Salamanca,

Caceres and Toledo, in towns and in villages and in the country, we did not see a single man between 20 and 50 years old—we saw only women, many of whom were in mourning. There were also half-starved little children, who came up to the train to try to get something to eat.

"We asked these children where the men were, and they told us that the ones who had not been shot were at the front. At the Bejar station, in Salamanca, we asked a boy if there were no men in the place. He replied that the fascists had shot nearly all of them, adding: "They shot my own father". We asked him how many brothers and sisters he had, and he told us: "Five"; and that the oldest sister, who was two years older than he was, was fourteen years old. While the boy was telling us these things, a sergeant in our escort heard him, and went up to him and kicked him several times and beat him viciously with a stick.

ONLY WOMEN AT WORK

"Not only did we not see men in towns and villages, but we did not see them in the fields either. The land work, such as the harvesting of wheat, is being done by women.

"After we had witnessed all these calamities on our journey, we arrived on July 27th on the Madrid front, where they set us to digging trenches near Brunete, working like this from 4 till 11 in the morning, from 5 in the afternoon till 9 o'clock at night, and from 10 o'clock at night to 3 or half past three in the morning. Then they would take us off to breakfast and bring us back to work again at 4 or half-past four. All we had for food each day were two small tins of sardines. We had to get our water from the river, although a sweet spring was only fifty yards away. But the water of that spring was only for officers.

LEGLESS MEN DRIVEN

"If any prisoner, worn out by overwork, let himself fall asleep, or did not fall in quickly enough for work at any time, he would be beaten in a barbarous way with cudgels wielded by the sergeants. As a shameful example, men who had lost legs and arms — war victims — were dragged along with us to the edge of the

3,000,000 JOIN RANKS OF C. I. O. IN 20 MONTHS

The Committee for Industrial Organization was 20 months old in July this year. Since November 1935, when eight international unions came together to do the job which the American Federation of Labor failed to tackle, almost 2,000,000 workers have been organized for the first time, declares Edward Levinson in the current issue of Photo-History.

Together with the founding organizations, the C. I. O. totals today over 3,000,000 men and women. Counting the supporters of the C. I. O. who remain temporarily within the fold of the A. F. of L., the C. I. O. has, in less than two years, displaced the A. F. of L. as chief spokesman of American workers, Levinson says.

The growth of unionism under the C. I. O. has been the most widespread and spectacular in the history of the nation, creating a new and powerful force which is affecting economic and social trends and which will exert even greater influence as the next decades unfold.

Membership of the C. I. O. as of July 1 this year is:

United Mine Workers of America.....	600,000
Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.....	450,000
United Automobile Workers.....	350,000
International Ladies Garment Workers.....	252,000
United Textile Workers.....	350,000
Amalgamated Clothing Workers.....	180,000
United Electrical and Radio Workers.....	100,000
Federation of Woodworkers.....	80,000
International Typographical Union.....	80,000
United Transport Workers.....	70,000
Oil, Field, Gas and Refinery Workers.....	60,000
United Rubber Workers.....	55,000
National Maritime Union.....	75,000
Pacific Maritime Federation.....	40,000
Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers.....	30,000
United Shoe Workers.....	25,000
United Retail Employees.....	25,000
United Office and Professional Employees.....	25,000
International Fur Workers.....	35,000
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.....	19,000
Federation Flat Glass Workers.....	15,000
American Newspaper Guild.....	15,000
Miscellaneous	150,000
Total	3,083,000

All besides the International Typographical Union are formally affiliated with the C. I. O. The Typo's president Charles P. Howard is C. I. O. secretary but the union has not yet formally affiliated.

firing line. A legless man would be given a pick, placed in a sitting position, and told "Get to work!" A man with only one arm would have to make full use of it. Old men, priests, doctors and school teachers, were forced to work with us.

"As the majority of the prisoners were Basques, and many of these had Catholic sentiments, we agreed one day when we were on the Quijorna front that a Friar from Los Salixianos de Bilbao

should ask permission from the prisoners' commander to pray at meal times. When our Friar asked for permission, the Commander flew into a fury, hurled himself upon him, hit him in the face and said he would not allow such prayers, least of all from such a hypocrite.

FEW SPANIARDS

"The majority of the forces we saw on these fronts were Moors

and foreigners, and three battalions of young Spaniards, of the 1938 and 1939 drafts. The Spanish soldiers are treated very badly, very poorly clothed, underfed, and full of misery. Some of them told us that they had been at the front for three months, and they still had not been given blankets. They all greatly desired the war to end. They are tired, without enthusiasm, without fire. And their most often asked question is: When, when will the war end?"

This is Frank's whole story —except for one last thing: he and his companion got fed up with the drudgery of trench-digging, and one night they decided, as many had before them and many others since, to make a break for the Loyalist lines. How they succeeded in escaping is another story, one that will have to be told at another time.

FASCIST SPAIN TODAY

What concerns us most in this account is the picture of fascist-held Spain today. The people, sucked dry and empty, wait hopefully for the government troops to conquer their towns, their fields and villages, so that they will be liberated from the bestial rule of Franco and his German and Italian masters. And sometimes, when it gets so unbearable that even death is preferable to continued life under fascist rule, they rise up in a last, desperate effort, doomed to failure because they have no arms, because their young men and mature men are far away. It is the sound of their struggles that we hear on the government side of the war-front. Each rising of this kind saps the strength of Franco, already greatly diminished after a year of battle. Each flash in the enemy sky tells us, more clearly than words that the people are waiting for us to advance, to conquer, to free all of Spain. And since July the offensive has passed into the government's hands. With this fact already a reality, with dissension growing ever greater in Franco's rear, the true government of Spain grows surer every day that victory is in sight. How close this victory is depends not only on the People's Army's growing strength, but also, to a great extent, on the actions of the democracies of Europe and America.

THE NYON CONFERENCE A STEP FORWARD

In spite of the efforts made by Germany and Italy to torpedo it up to the last moment, the Nyon Conference has been held, and has taken decisions which will be immediately put into action.

In two months, more than 30 vessels had been victims of the new reign of piracy in the Mediterranean. Faced with this situation and the firm attitude adopted by the Soviet Union, it was not possible for Britain and France to continue to turn the blind eye. Italy would have liked to see this problem, like so many others, "dealt with" at London, of which the Fascist powers have so many pleasant memories, and where such consideration has always been shown to their sensitive feelings.

NYON DECISIONS

The decisions of the Conference may be summarised as follows:

The Governments participating in it will order their warships to protect any merchant shipping not belonging to either of the conflicting parties in Spain. Any submarine which attacks another vessel, thereby constituting a breach of International Law, will be counter-attacked and if possible destroyed.

In the Western Mediterranean the protection of shipping will be carried out by Britain and France. In the Eastern Mediterranean, the task will fall on the Governments concerned. On the high seas excluding the Adriatic, and up to the entrance of the Dardanelles, the British and French fleets will protect shipping. The other powers participating in the agreement with a Mediterranean coastline undertake to give these fleets the support required.

SUBMARINE RULES

The powers participating in the Conference will send no submarine out to sea, except in certain zones reserved for manoeuvres, without previously notifying the other powers, and in this case every submarine will sail on the surface and be accompanied by a surface vessel. No foreign submarine will be allowed in the territorial waters of the contracting

powers, except in the case of unavoidable necessity, or subject to pre-arranged conditions.

The powers are to recommend their merchant vessels to follow certain main routes in the Mediterranean. Any power wishing to withdraw from the agreement must give thirty days' notice.

The agreement was signed by the nine powers present at the Conference, namely: Britain, Bulgaria, Egypt, France, Greece, Rumania, Turkey, the U. R. S. S. and Jugoslavia.

NO "PRIVATE LAKE"

The agreement is a first and important step against the acts of piracy by the Fascist aggressors. The Mediterranean ceases to be their private lake. And the presence of strong British and French naval forces means that Italy's dreams of domination in the Mediterranean will disappear in smoke.

There are some grave defects. Litvinov pointed out in his speech: "I regret the absence of the State which has suffered most from piracy: Republican Spain... The presence of Spain will be a contribution to the pacification of the Mediterranean." But Republican Spain has been excluded from the agreement, and her merchant shipping is not protected by the agreement. While the agreement does not recognise Franco as beligerent, it does not give the Spanish Government its rights in International Law. The decisions taken only refer to submarines, but vessels of other types have played their part in the piracy, and planes have sunk two Soviet ships.

ADVANCE FOR PEACE

As "Izvestia" says: "The Conference was called on the initiative of Britain and France, but the concrete results have been due to the activity and the correct line of Soviet diplomacy which declared its position with the needful firmness and determination before the Conference took place."

Notwithstanding its serious defects the Agreement represents an advance for the forces of peace and collective security, and a serious setback for Fascist aggres-



Women Shock Brigade Workers Meet.

Written During An

AIRPLANE ATTACK

Dawn still sleeps; but we awake,
Aware that soon those shadows in
The sky may hover.

Everywhere about us the earth is raw,
With wounds from shells and bombs, and holes
Dug by men.

Blood has flowed here, has wet this earth
On which we lie; and blood will flow again —
But our thoughts are not of this.

We oil our guns, adjust our clothes,
Dig deep the earth — prepare to hide in it,
To hug it close.

And then those shadows come! We seize upon the earth
We have prepared — become part of it —
Become earth...

Not a finger moves: expectantly we wait —
Some fearfully — for a sign: are they theirs,
Or ours? marked with red or black?

Then suddenly the roar! Earth again is torn,
Into a million parts leaps high; and shrapnel spreads
And mingles with the smoke.

More! and more! Closer! More deadly!
Intenser — bombs — cries of pain from mules and men,
All covered by earth and dust...

Then silence... The beasts have gone...
We tear ourselves from the earth,
Become men again.

DANIEL HUTNER
American Volunteer Killed In
Action — September, 1937

sion. A relatively decisive answer has been given to Italian pretensions in the Mediterranean. The agreement is only a first step, but the very fact that this step has

been taken is of great importance for the preservation of the peace of Europe.

A. M. B.

BREWERY CARRIES ON UNDER ENEMY'S FIRE

During the 14 months of civil war in Spain, profound changes have taken place in the economic and social conditions of this country. Since the July 18th uprising of the military clique headed by General Franco, in the interests of German and Italian Fascism, we have all heard of the great progress made in the destruction of the feudal relations in the countryside, the granting of land to the peasants—the former possessions of the nobility and the idle parasitic absentee landlords.

Life has also taken a new turn for the city industrial workers. A visit to some of the Madrid factories gives ample proof that present social changes are also bringing economic improvement and industrial freedom to the toiling masses of Spain.

BEER FOR THE MEN

We enter the gates of Madrid's largest brewery, "El Aquila" beer factory. The delegation, consisting of a group of German, American, Polish and French anti-fascist fighters is keenly interested in how the factory workers are making out. We are met at the entrance of the plant by the director, who shows us around. A glance at the factory walls indicates that we are very near to the front. The workers of "El Aquila" are only a few kilometres from the fascist lines—carrying on their work in the midst of the great war for their national independence. We are informed from the outset that, due to war conditions, production is only 20 percent of normal, i. e. 50,000 litres of beer yearly as against 250,000 in past years. It is easy to understand this fact, when we are told that of the 550 workers of this brewery, some 300 volunteered for service in the army to defend their city against the fascist invaders. Those who remained, mostly elderly workers, are not exempt from the murderous designs of the fascists. Only last week a shell from the fascist artillery from the Uesera-Cerro Rojo fascist lines, struck the plant, killing five workers peacefully engaged in production. On entering the director's office, we noticed the walls covered with portraits of young men—all "El Aquila" heroes who gave their lives in defense of their government and their liberty.

The workers in this plant carry on despite the shellings by the fascists. Due to the nearness of the front, we learned that no production is carried on at night, as the electric lights would be a perfect target for the fascist artillery. The men work from 7 a. m. to 1 p. m., every day of the week — although paid for a full day's work. This plant, formerly the property of a stock-holding company, is now run and managed by the workers through their elected committees, under government control and supervision. The president of the company having died in the early days of the uprising, the workers undertook to run the plant and they run it well, indeed. No interests are being paid to former stock holders. The profits of the plant going exclusively to the workers and their families.

WORKERS' CONTROL

The workers through their trade unions (all workers organized into trade unions), elect a committee of seven to administer the affairs of production and distribution as well as those of social welfare of the employees. The committee consists of six UGT and one CNT members—a direct reflection of the fact that some 450 workers were in the UGT and 30 in the CNT at the time of the outbreak of Franco's rebellion.

Despite the difficulties created by the war, the plant manages to buy raw materials (barley) from the peasants in Toledo province, coal from Tarancon, and to import

hops from France to the extent of 2 million pesetas annually, and to keep things moving. The beer produced is sold to private cafes and restaurants, although mainly to the Intendancias of the Army, for use for the front, for distribution among the fighters of the People's Army, who so valiantly defend the great city of Madrid.

WAGES INCREASED

The workers' wages have risen to about 5 pesetas more, daily, than before. The wages now range from 12 pesetas daily for unskilled men to 20 pesetas for the more experienced and skilled workers. The plant has set up a social insurance fund, whereby the disabled workers—those who fought to stop the fascist hordes at the gates of Madrid—are amply provided for. The widows of "El Aquila" workers, who have fallen in the war, receive 5 pesetas daily from this insurance fund. We visited the large and clean communal dining room where dinners are served to the "El Aquila" workers for 2 pesetas, as well as the plant first-aid station and clinic. There is also a library where workers can spend their time reading and in self-study.

A visit to the "El Cafeto" factory of Simon Martinez revealed to the delegation a situation very similar to that described in the brewery. This factory, still privately owned, is also controlled and managed by a joint UGT-CNT workers' committee. This factory, famous in Spain for its production of chocolate, is now producing chocolate and coffee exclusively for the Army Intendencia. Out of the profits of the plant, the committee pays the taxes to

the government and keeps the balance for the purchase of raw materials (sugar, coffee beans, nuts, etc.). Here too we saw half of the 120 workers previously employed now in the ranks of the People's Army. The other half carry on production and in their spare time maintain a poultry farm. The "farm" is on an old football field adjacent to the factory. Starting with some scant donations of chickens, rabbits, ducks, goats and pigeons by peasants in Madrid province, they are building a permanent poultry farm to provide eggs to military hospitals, and, through care and attention, increasing their live stock to be able to supply many a chicken dinner to the soldiers wounded in the struggle for democracy.

In the "El Cafeto" plant too the workers wages have increased to as high as 14 pesetas daily for the more skilled workers; and through their direct management of the plants, they are able to bring about great improvements in their daily life. They have their discussion meetings, hear reports of their elected committees and take an active part in the administration of the plant. A wall newspaper keeps them informed of events at the war front as well as on the industrial front.

The delegation left these factory workers with their clenched fists raised and the traditional "Salud" on their lips. We had the feeling that the workers on the industrial front, in the rearguard, are also conscientiously carrying on and contributing to the great fight for a great, free, independent and prosperous Spain.

D. M.



They Advanced as if on Maneuvers — Gen. Walter.

SPANISH GROUP FORMED TO AID EVACUATED KIDS

The Ministry of Public Education and Health recently created in Paris the Spanish Committee for Evacuated Children with Juan Comas Camps as director. This group will be responsible for the settlement, organization, education and inspection of those Spanish children who have been sent abroad since the war started, regardless of the organization that assisted in their evacuation or now contributes to their maintenance.

The main objective of the delegation is to coordinate the efforts made by various foreign commi-



tees, which it hopes to accomplish by placing all colonies and nurseries for Spanish refugee children abroad under its control and given them centralized direction.

The delegation will take a complete census of all Spanish evacuated children in collective colonies and private homes, endeavoring to increase the number of children in colonies and decrease that of children in homes. In special cases where children have to be placed with private families, preference will be given Spanish emigres, of course after previously making thorough investigations of the surroundings and circumstances.

Special attention will be paid to the education of the refugee children. On August 6 the Government published a decree whose purpose is to prevent the children from losing contact with Spain, culture or forgetting the language. At the same time they will benefit by the culture of the country in which they have their temporary residence. The education and teaching of the children will be under the care of Spanish teachers.

Of special interest to foreign committees is the fact that in colonies totally or partially supported by foreign groups, they can, in accordance with the Delegation, designate a person to act in its name in the administration. The teaching staff and the educational regime will depend exclusively on the Delegation.



EL CAMPESINO

Non-Intervention Finds New Victim

While the Chinese delegate was defending his people's rights before the League of Nations and demanding the application of the Covenant of the League on their behalf, the decision of the United States was made public to forbid all future export of arms to Japan and China. This not only constitutes a retreat before Japanese imperialism it is a serious blow to peace in the Far East. The results can only be favorable to Japan. Her fleet is in a position to blockade China which has no powerful war industry, and will experience all the difficulties of Republican Spain.

The U. S. A. has laid the basis for more "non-intervention". The situation produced by such a policy in Europe should have served as a warning, and it is no secret, moreover, that the ambitious military plans of Japanese imperialism include an attack on the United States.

It is an ominous sign that the first act of the farce of "non-intervention" is now being played in the Far East.

Canadian and British Labor Support Spain

OTTAWA (Sept. 17).—The Trade Union Congress of Canada has declared itself in favor of a boycott of all goods exported by fascist nations. The Congress endorsed the policy adopted by the International Federation of Trade Unions in regards to the civil war in Spain and in the struggle to safeguard democracy.

★ ★ ★

NORWICH (Sept. 7).—The Trade Union Congress placed on record "its high appreciation of the gallant struggle of our Spanish comrades and those of the International Brigades against Fascism, which is a deadly enemy of trade unionism, and most heartily wishes them every success against the common enemy".

The Congress also adopted a resolution in favor of loyalist Spain, deploring the fact that the British and other governments continue to deny the legal govern-

BATTALION OF FASCIST DESERTERS AT CARABANCHEL

MADRID.—On one of the Carabanchel fronts there is a battalion composed almost entirely of deserters from the rebel trenches. Many of these soldiers have received honorable mention "in the official reports and others have" had their bravery rewarded promotion to higher rank.

There is one who has conducted himself with such bravery, that he has reached the rank of lieutenant and enjoys both the respect and the love of his subordinates.

Another of these deserter soldiers is a man about forty. He was a well-to-do manufacturer of tiles at Aranda de Duero before the war. He could not live under the oppression of the Fascist regime even though the rebels of Aranda had nothing against him. One day he decided to leave the town with his wife and thirteen-year-old son. After several days of walking they reached the Republican lines stop.

In the fascist propaganda talks to our lines, they invite our soldiers to desert to their side. One night, the men of this battalion of deserters answered, "Don't waste your time on us, we have already escaped from fascist territory".

Recently some runners from this battalion started for the rebel lines at night with Popular Front propaganda posters. On the way they came up against a rebel watch but succeeded in avoiding it. They posted the posters on the walls of a house practically in the rebel trenches.

ment of Spain the right under international law to purchase the necessary arms and equipment thus affording support to the fascist rebels.

The Congress expressed its complete solidarity with the Spanish government and called for an end to the farce of non-intervention.